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THE EASTERN CRISIS.

THE most significant passage of Prince BISMARCK'S speech in the German Parliament is the pious quotation of *Beati possidentes*. The words may be interpreted by the paraphrase that Austria and England are at liberty to protest against direct arrangements to their disadvantage between Russia and Turkey, but that in the meantime the Russians occupy the territory from the Danube to the Ægean, and that they will not be driven out by verbal arguments. On the same day Count AUERSPERG and M. TISZA informed the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments that some of the conditions of the peace, being injurious to Austrian interests, will have no validity until they are sanctioned by a European Congress. Prince BISMARCK replies by anticipation, "*Beati possidentes*." He virtually adds that the possessor will not be disturbed by Germany. On former occasions he has expressed a determination to defend Austria in case of need against Russian encroachments. He now plainly intimates his determination not to join in any opposition which may be offered to the terms of peace; but it is also conjectured that he will not assist Russia against Austria. With England, as he truly says, he has no cause of quarrel; but, on the other hand, he tacitly declines to render assistance, except perhaps in the form of friendly mediation. The speech in general will encourage Russia, if any encouragement is wanted. Prince BISMARCK dwells on the personal ties which connect the two Imperial families, and even on his own ancient intimacy with Prince GORTCHAKOFF. Indirectly he hints that Austrian menaces are not greatly to be feared, because Prince BISMARCK has also another trusted friend in Count ANDRASSY. At one time, as he confesses with a pleasant frankness, he was accustomed not to believe a single word which was uttered by the Austro-Hungarian CHANCELLOR; but either his own prejudices are removed, or his friend has turned over a new leaf, for he now believes every word that Count ANDRASSY says. It was already conjectured that the policy of Austria would, as long as the present Minister retained office, be regulated by an understanding with Germany. The alliance of the three EMPERORS is still in force, notwithstanding the discontents which find expression at Vienna and Pesth. It is useless to regret the fixed and consistent policy of the greatest Continental Power. The alliance between Germany and Russia, if it were offensive and defensive, would be more formidable than the BOURBON family alliance which excited the alarm and jealousy of Englishmen during the eighteenth century; but nothing can be done to dissolve the combination.

In England the continued feeling of uneasiness is justified by every new indication of the designs of Russia. Arguments which tend to inflame Russian animosity to England are incessantly urged, not only in Russian journals, but by English writers, including the Correspondents of the *Times* at St. Petersburg and at Pera. There can be little doubt that a main condition of the treaty is a close alliance between Russia and Turkey; and that the Turkish FOREIGN MINISTER, who was lately allowed, through the good offices of the *Daily News*, to offer a public insult to the English PRIME MINISTER and AMBASSADOR, was prepared on that occasion to obey the instructions of Russia. It is doubtful whether the dismissal of SERVEY PASHA will affect the policy of his Government. Some of the rumours in circulation are perhaps for the

present only designed to test the extent of English endurance. The amiable General IGNATIEFF is said to have demanded the expulsion of the Mahometan population from Bulgaria, perhaps with a sense of amusement, if the report is well founded, in giving practical effect to Mr. GLADSTONE'S rhetorical flourish. The heartless cruelty of the measure affords no proof that it may not be seriously proposed and enforced; but it is contradicted by Prince GORTCHAKOFF'S official journal. A more incredible report is to the effect that the SULTAN is to be made to assume the title of Emperor or Caliph of the Mussulmans in Arabia and India. The rumour is so far ingenious that it would be in Prince GORTCHAKOFF'S manner to address Lord BEACONSFIELD in the form of a repartee. Lord BEACONSFIELD'S absurd statement that the assumption by the QUEEN of the Imperial title would discourage Russian designs on India would be epigrammatically answered by the establishment of a rival Pretender in the person of a Russian dependent. The much more serious question of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus will, if the immediate complications are overcome, probably be submitted to the Congress. The Russian Government has perhaps discovered that the provisions which were re-enacted in the Treaty of Paris were more to its advantage than the free passage which has been clamorously demanded by its English partisans. If the Straits are commanded by a Russian vassal, no stipulations which can be made will afford any security to foreign nations.

The Ministers have of late wisely declined to compete with the evening papers in the enterprise of furnishing the latest news. The regular Opposition has at the same time maintained a prudent reserve. Even Mr. GLADSTONE or his abettors have at the last moment been induced to suspend their discreditable agitation out of doors. The meeting at the Agricultural Hall is abandoned or postponed; but Mr. GLADSTONE'S character for discretion is gravely assailed by his recent intention to appeal from Parliament to the mob. The notice of the meeting retrospectively justified Mr. HARDY'S refusal to accept the overtures which were made by Mr. GLADSTONE to the Government three weeks ago. The Oxford speech did his friends and his party serious harm. An Islington speech might probably have widened and perpetuated the schism between the two sections of the Opposition. Mr. GLADSTONE would have been estopped by his own admission from denouncing the despatch of the English squadron to the Sea of Marmora. He would probably have protested against an Austrian alliance, which, if it were attainable, would enable the confederates to hold Russia in check. It seems that patriotism is for the moment even among the multitude more in favour than anti-Turkish philanthropy; but it is in the highest degree undesirable that national policy should be settled in the streets. The feeling that humiliation has been inflicted on England, though natural, is subject to dangerous exaggeration. Lord PEMBROKE in a judicious letter contends that, of the proverbial three courses, the Government and the nation have adopted the best, or at least the only course which was practicable. The Bulgarian agitation rendered adherence to the policy of WELLINGTON and PALMERSTON impossible; and the assumption of complicity with Russia was never approved by any party. It remained to watch a struggle between two unequal adversaries; and, if neutrality was consistent with national self-respect, the inevitable victory of the stronger combatant ought not to be regarded as a humilia-

tion to England. It is less degrading to acquiesce in unwelcome events than to be teased and taunted into war.

LORD DERBY'S statement on Thursday last relieved the country from anxiety as to an immediate collision. Nothing was said about Constantinople; but the Russian and English Governments have agreed not to land troops either on the European or on the Asiatic shore of the Dardanelles. LORD BEACONSFIELD on the same day expressed an anxious wish for peace; and, as might be expected, LORD GRANVILLE, instead of opposing the vote of credit, contented himself with exposing the inconsistencies, contradictions, and errors which may, not without plausibility, be imputed to the Government. The Russian Government, notwithstanding the incessant bluster of its organs in the press, probably recognizes as a fact of some importance the practical unanimity which has been produced in England by its triumphs and its threats. MR. GLADSTONE, MR. AUBERON HERBERT, and MR. BRADLAUGH have still followers out of doors; but LORD GRANVILLE'S determination to support the Government is shared by all responsible politicians in both Houses of Parliament. If there were anything to gain by a war with England the conflict would not be delayed; but a policy of idle resentment will scarcely commend itself to the EMPEROR and his advisers. They could not even count on a single-handed war. Although the chances are in favour of an arrangement between Russia and Austria, the alliance of the three EMPERORS is visibly impaired; and the presence of a hostile English fleet in the Black Sea would place the communications with Bulgaria at the mercy of an Austrian army. Russian writers have begun to complain, with pathetic earnestness, of the ingratitude both of neighbours and of clients. The Roumanians protest against the threatened spoliation of their territory; and the Greeks regard with apprehension the extension of the Russian dominions to the neighbourhood of their border. It is to be feared that even the Turks may be sufficiently ungrateful to hesitate at the last moment in the acceptance of ruinous conditions of peace. After an unprecedented run of luck, a prudent gamester would do well to pocket his winnings and retire.

#### THE NEW POPE.

CARDINAL PECCI has been elected Pope after a much shorter contest than usual, and PIUS IX. is succeeded by LEO XIII. Of new Popes the best expectations are invariably formed, as of new Kings, and a golden reign of peace and wisdom is confidently predicted now that so excellent a man has been chosen and less excellent men are shut out. It is impossible to infer what a Pope will be from what he has been; for his powers, his difficulties, and his temptations are all new to him. But there is some foundation for bright hopes in the facts of the previous life of LEO XIII. He has managed to inspire the belief that he is a moderate and prudent man, and the Italian public, which must have some means of judging what an Italian who is not far from seventy years of age is really like, is more than satisfied with his appointment. Of all the testimonies in his favour, however, the most cogent is that he was trusted by the late King of the BELGIANS and distrusted by Cardinal ANTONELLI. Neither the KING nor the CARDINAL was likely to make a mistake in appreciation of character, and that the new POPE was able to work on easy and pleasant terms with a Constitutional and Protestant KING, and was not able to please the mainstay of Italian reaction, tells considerably in his favour. It may also be said that the speedy election of a moderate POPE on the avowed ground that he was moderate shows that the chiefs of the Roman Catholic world have come to the conclusion that the present is not a fitting opportunity for prosecuting a fierce and bitter contest with modern Europe. It seems to have been accepted from the outset that the Pope should be an Italian, not only because a long tradition has confined the choice to Cardinals of Italian origin, but because Italians, it is thought, alone have the secret of managing the Papacy wisely as a political no less than as a religious institution. They have, it is believed, the national gift for diplomacy, and are free from the provincialism which marks those who associate the Papacy too intimately with the peculiar conditions of Catholicism in their own country. The Italians were so long without having any country of their own that they learnt to look on all countries

with impartiality. This can only be true of Italian Popes in comparatively modern times, as in former days they exhibited a tendency precisely opposite, and were, like other Italians, absorbed in the petty politics of Italy. But recently they have had to occupy themselves with the delicate task of playing off Austria against France and France against Austria, and this may have stimulated their diplomatic skill, and fostered their turn for shifty compromises and cautious enterprise. What is more certain is that the election of any but an Italian Pope at the present time would have made the reconciliation of Italy with the Church quite hopeless. The Italians are very proud of the Pope, even when they defy him, and would like nothing better than to see him enjoying himself at Rome as Popes used to enjoy themselves. But for a foreigner to be a second king in Rome would have been too great a strain on their sympathies, and they would have taken offence at numberless little things when done by a stranger which will seem innocent, or at least pardonable, when done by one of themselves.

We may hope, then, that his electors, his friends, and his countrymen are right, and that the new POPE will be a moderate Pope. But what is meant by a moderate Pope? The question is easier to ask than to answer. In a special sense, however, it may be said that by a moderate Pope is meant a Pope who will reconcile himself to Germany and Italy. And here it is easy to see what a moderate Pope is to do, so long as we are speaking of the negative part of his conduct. He will not try to upset the German Empire; he will not try to destroy Italian unity; he will not seek a political alliance with the domestic enemies of the French Republic. And it cannot be doubted that the negative part of his conduct is the most important, and that the chief barrier to friendly relations between the Papacy and its two chief adversaries will be removed when it is once believed that the POPE discountenances all schemes for a political crusade. The quarrel between the Vatican and Germany began in the license given to German priests to preach openly and intrigue privately against the new order of things to which the war gave birth. If the German priests are now directed to uphold the civil power as the priests uphold it in England or Austria, the great grievance which roused PRINCE BISMARCK'S indignation will be taken away. The chief sign of the quarrel between the Papacy and Italy has been the seclusion of the POPE in the Vatican as a token that he was a prisoner and a victim, and that he was suffering at the hands of unrighteous usurpers. If the new POPE chooses to drive about Rome, to receive the KING and visit him, to smile on devout Catholics who accept office under the Italian Government, and to make excursions into the ancient territories of the Church in the character of a guest rather than in that of a pretender, he may easily, without formally surrendering any of his claims, dissipate the jealousy and suspicion with which the Italians would regard another prisoner of the Vatican. It ought, however, in justice to a moderate POPE, to be kept in mind that, however moderate he may be, he must still be a Pope. The system of Rome is radically opposed to the system of the modern world; and, however much civility and courtesy may mark the intercourse of the Vatican with Rome and Berlin, each party will always have to be on its guard against the other. It may even be found that the moderation of the POPE brings about new causes of collision. The power of the clerical party in Germany and Italy, and especially in Italy, would be greatly increased if it frankly accepted and took advantage of institutions which theoretically it condemns. The new POPE is said to have been among the foremost of the ecclesiastical dignitaries who recommended the friends of the Church in Italy to give up the useless policy of abstention, to go cheerfully to the polls, and vote steadily for candidates who, in Parliament or in municipal offices, might be counted on as adherents of the holy cause. If the clerical party polled its whole strength, if its representatives were cautious, if the POPE were affable and popular, what has happened in Belgium might happen in Italy. KING HUMBERT might preside over a Ministry kept in power by the clerical party, and the rulers of the Vatican, without regaining an inch of ground or dividing Italy, might have much of the wealth and much of the power of Italy at their disposal.

Beyond Germany and Italy a moderate Pope can stamp the impress of moderation on his general government within limits which are vague but which are not very extensive. He may forbear to add new dogmas to the creed of the Church; he



may check miraculous appearances; he may let it be understood that pilgrimages to Rome, however opportune towards the conclusion of a long reign, are not opportune under a reign which has only just begun. But the real system of Rome is too compact for him to modify it if he wished, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that LEO XIII. will not cling to this system as heartily as his predecessors have done. He cannot patronize schemes for mixed education, or allow the offspring of mixed marriages to be brought up in an alien faith. So far as is possible, all bishops must be his bishops, and all priests his priests. The scheme of his government and the instruments of his government must be the same as they would have been if he had been the most immoderate of men. All that he can do is to modify in a small degree the spirit and temper in which the institutions of the Church are practically worked. Instead of surrounding himself with intriguers and reactionaries, he can surround himself with men of high character and liberal thoughts; and that he wishes at least to start well is shown by his choice of Cardinal SCHWARTZENBERG as his Camerlengo. It did not seem very probable in 1870 that this would be the choice of the successor of PIUS IX. And in every way he may congratulate himself that the Ultramontanes have fought and lost their great political battle before he began to reign. He has not to favour them, for they are not sufficiently within reach of success for his power to be of any use to them; and he has not to humiliate them, for they are sufficiently humiliated. Moderation is now triumphant in the greater part of Europe, and a moderate Pope is in harmony with his times. Perhaps it may be said that the recent war is not a very signal triumph of moderation; but in an indirect way it will probably conduce to moderation. Its incidents have dealt a heavy blow to those who espouse a cause merely because it is called a Christian cause, and the revelations of character which are found to be consistent with the kind of piety that does not soften or sweeten the heart will tend to make all religious crusades more distasteful to modern Europe than ever. It may at first seem rather far-fetched to say that the Bulgarians have helped to discredit Ultramontanism; but the formation of public opinion depends on numberless indirect as well as direct influences, and those who shrink from the connexion of assumed orthodoxy and a proneness to acts of violence in one case will shrink from it instinctively in another. It is true that the Bulgarians have been no worse than the Turks, and not nearly so bad as the Circassians, but then no one expected much from Mahomedans. It is the contemplation of the behaviour of the Christian subjects of Turkey which has kept Europe in such a state of mind as to make it hope that the idea of a moderate Pope, and not the idea of M. VEUILLOT, will prevail in the Catholic world.

#### THE COUNTY BOARDS DEBATE.

THE debate on the County Boards Bill, if not very exciting, was practical and useful, because nearly all the speakers cared for local business, and understood it. The Ministers have no reason to be dissatisfied with the reception of the measure, although many of their supporters and some of their opponents think that it is neither necessary nor likely to be beneficial. The Courts of Quarter Sessions have by universal consent done their work admirably well; and the new Boards will be efficient in proportion to their adherence to the traditions of their predecessors. There were nevertheless two reasons for altering the system of administration in counties. The Quarter Sessions would probably not obtain from Parliament an extension of their present powers, and there are various duties which may require the intervention of a local authority higher in rank than the Board of Guardians. The second reason, if less sound, has probably determined the action of Government. Mr. READ in the last Session proposed a Resolution in favour of County Boards, which in the first instance failed to obtain official support. A circular had been sent to the majority announcing a division, when it was discovered at the last moment that the county members, whatever might be their private opinions, were not prepared to refuse their constituents a representation in the local governing body. The leader of the House immediately changed his policy, and promised that, if Mr. READ's motion were withdrawn, the Government would in-

troduce a Bill for the same purpose. Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH's measure fairly redeems the pledge; and, although it may undergo alterations in Committee, it will probably, pass without serious opposition. Much modern legislation has been rendered more stringent by prolonged resistance to proposed changes which have nevertheless been ultimately adopted. In the present instance a theoretical anomaly will have been corrected without any serious pressure; and the offer of the Sibyl has been accepted almost before it was made.

The majority of those who took part in the debate expressed little interest in the sublime objects which were contemplated by Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and Mr. GOSCHEN. The cultivation of public spirit in rural districts may perhaps have some beneficial tendencies, and it may possibly be promoted by frequent popular elections. In the United States the effect of incessant electoral agitation is not altogether satisfactory, but it would be unreasonable to deprecate the possible expansion of the sympathies and intellects of farmers. The objection to Mr. GOSCHEN's proposed principle of action has been justly expressed in the proposition that he puts the cart before the horse. Institutions cannot be founded with a view to their retrospective and indirect operation. Interest in public affairs is useful as far as it promotes good government; but good government is not established for the purpose of creating an interest in public affairs. Mr. GOSCHEN is not so extravagant in his love of doctrinal results as Mr. LOWE, who would almost keep the empire of India for the encouragement of competitive examination. Mr. TREVELYAN's imaginary Ministers who make war that their duller offspring may become naval cadets would, if they existed, be theorists of the same kind run mad. The ordinary London ratepayer passes through life in ignoble ignorance of the machinery by which he is governed. In the country other occupations are scarcer; and intelligent members of the community may often advantageously employ their energies in administering local affairs. It is scarcely incumbent on the Legislature to provide amusement or excitement to minds which are, in Mr. GOSCHEN's judgment, at present stagnant. The annual issue of vote papers for the election of Guardians is regarded with equanimity; but perhaps the possibility that the nominee of the parish may afterwards be elected to the County Board will render the primary election somewhat less uninteresting. That three or four thousand electors should share the excitement is unnecessary and inexpedient.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, with perfect consistency, wishes to elevate all local government by connecting its exercise, as at Birmingham, with party politics. In that happy town Mr. CHAMBERLAIN and his associates have established a system of exclusion which had previously not been known in England since Catholic emancipation. One intolerant faction has, by judicious manipulation of votes, contrived to monopolize all municipal functions except the payment of rates. The Conservative outcasts are allowed no voice in the management of their funds, their streets, their police, or their sewers; and every candidate for the lowest office must be pledged to the disestablishment of the Church, and for the present to the extermination of the Turks and the predominance of Russia. It is probable that the notoriety of the Birmingham scandal may have strengthened the general preference for indirect election. A Liberal Four Hundred or Six Hundred would be an intolerable nuisance in counties.

The Committee on the Bill will consider the comparative merits of Petty Sessions districts and Poor-law Unions as constituent areas. In the debate opinion was much divided on the question; and it seems to be regarded with an interest which is not easily explained. Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH would probably not have hesitated to prefer the Unions, but for the accident that they in many instances overlap the boundaries of counties. Several members asserted that by energetic efforts the Government might re-arrange the boundaries of Unions; but others remarked that the reasons which had caused the present distribution still remained in force. It would not be just to send a pauper or even a Guardian to a town ten miles from his home, when the present centre of the Union may perhaps be two or three miles off, though in another county. A compromise may perhaps be effected by altering the boundaries not of Unions but of counties. If it is found necessary to retain the Petty Sessions districts, it will be proper to modify the scheme of equal representa-

tion. An instance was mentioned in which the majority of Petty Sessional districts contained scarcely a third of the population, and probably not a larger proportion of the rateable value, of the county. There is no reason why every district should be restricted to the election of two representatives. The wealthier districts would probably contain a greater number of competent candidates for the County Board. Mr. READ thought, with good reason, that Guardians would be almost uniformly chosen; and he had no doubt that their colleagues would be more competent than the general community to estimate their capacity for public service. Little discussion arose on the proposal that elections should be annual; but one speaker recommended the annual system on account of the permanence which would, as he thought, be the result. It is certainly true that Guardians, who only hold office from year to year, are seldom changed. Farmers are in many parts of the country accustomed to annual tenancies of land which almost always last during the life of the occupier, and which often become hereditary.

The preponderance of opinion was in favour of a reduction in the proportion of official members. It may be hoped that magistrates will often be elected by their colleagues at the Board of Guardians, unless a prejudice arises from the suspicion that the class is already too much favoured by legislation. It would be extremely undesirable that magistrates and elected members should form separate parties; and in some Boards of Guardians the evil is not unknown. It may be hoped that the President of the Local Government Board will entirely remodel the proposed method of selecting the magistrates who are to form part of the County Board. The choice by the members of each Petty Sessions of members of their own body is the worst plan which could have been devised. It often happens that, in consequence of other employments, or for personal reasons, the Chairman, who enjoys the confidence of the whole body of magistrates, is not an habitual attendant at Petty Sessions. Even if he is eligible, he may not happen to be elected, although all parties may consider his attendance at the County Board indispensable. A similar inconvenience would arise in the case of the most active and most experienced members of the Court of Quarter Sessions. County business, like other corporate business, is habitually transacted by a small minority of the whole governing body; and in many cases the efficient members are unequally distributed among the Petty Sessions districts. It is perfectly clear that the *ex officio* members of the County Board ought to be appointed by the Court of Quarter Sessions. If the Chairman were not one of the number, he would know that he had lost the confidence of his colleagues.

#### THE OCCUPATION OF QUETTAH.

A DESPATCH has been published which was lately sent by Lord SALISBURY to Lord LYTON containing an elaborate summary of the events which terminated in the occupation of Quettah. The story is a long one, but it is only by following its leading incidents that it can be understood what the Indian Government has done and why it has done it. We must go back to 1873, when Lord NORTHBROOK determined to have nothing more to do with Khelat and its KHAN. The Political Agent at the KHAN's Court was withdrawn, and the subsidy of 50,000 rupees which the KHAN had been receiving under the treaty of 1854 was suspended. The KHAN had behaved very badly—not keeping peace on the Sind frontier, and not protecting British traders passing through his territory, and he was to be punished by being left to himself. By the treaty of 1854 he was bound to keep peace on the frontier and to protect traders, and in return he was to have an annual allowance and the good advice of a British Resident, and these benefits were withdrawn when it was seen that he would not or could not keep his part of the compact. But Lord NORTHBROOK at the same time gave a significant hint that, if the KHAN did not mend his ways, it might be necessary to punish him more severely; and he intimated that, if the KHAN could not control two of his tribes called the Murrees and the Boogtees, who were continually giving the Indian Government trouble, it would ignore the KHAN, and deal with them in a direct manner. In 1874 the COMMISSIONER in Sind was much excited by the evils which came under his notice on the Khelat border, and recommended in very earnest terms an armed

interference to punish the KHAN, and coercive measures against the offending Murrees. Lord NORTHBROOK refused to comply, and sent Major SANDEMAN to treat with the Murrees and Boogtees instead of coercing them, and still persisted in leaving Khelat to itself. In 1875 Major SANDEMAN was sent on a more formal mission to deal with the tribes, to mediate between the KHAN and his disaffected chiefs, and to give the KHAN an opening for showing penitence if he wished to reform. Major SANDEMAN did not then effect all the objects proposed; but, when he returned, he could say that everywhere he had been received with not only respect but cordiality, and that the chiefs and the KHAN and the tribes were all in a state of mind which indicated a willingness to hearken to the counsels of the Indian Government, if the Government would send some one officially clothed with authority to mediate, and if his mission was planned on a scale sufficient to invest the mediator with proper importance. Lord NORTHBROOK on this gave up his policy of having nothing to do with Khelat. He sent back Major SANDEMAN with an escort of a thousand troops and with power to draw on the Treasury for all necessary funds; and when Lord LYTON arrived in India he found that Major SANDEMAN had gone on this mission, and the new VICEROY prudently waited to see what would be the consequences of the steps taken by his predecessor.

Major SANDEMAN succeeded so well that he earnestly implored the Government that he, or some one replacing him, should do more. He found the parties in Khelat ready to promise that peace and harmony should prevail, and that no further cause of reproach should be given. But, excellent as these intentions were, he pointed out that there was not the slightest chance of their being carried out unless a British Agent was present to keep all those who had formed these good intentions up to the mark. The KHAN was willing to do his utmost to preserve order, the chiefs were ready to co-operate with him, and trade through the Bolan Pass was resumed as soon as Major SANDEMAN and his military escort had shown themselves. But it seemed certain that chaos would come again, that the KHAN would be powerless to maintain order, and that the chiefs would immediately quarrel with him and among themselves, if the mediator and his escort returned and left no one to take their place. Lord LYTON had thus a very serious decision to take. Unless he wished to see all that had been done to pacify Khelat made of no avail, he had to sanction not a temporary mission, but a prolonged intervention. Every one in the country where this intervention was to be exercised strongly desired it. What was proposed was not a hostile occupation, but the voluntary submission of Khelat to the wise counsels and irresistible force of England. Still the occupation of a spot in Khelat giving a British Agent supreme command over the district was a startling departure from the policy which considered that the boundaries of the Empire had been already fixed. It was clear that the step, once taken, could not be retraced. As Lord SALISBURY truly says, the Indian Government cannot lightly abandon responsibilities it has once acknowledged, and cannot recede at will from any position it has once occupied. If what is done leads to dangers and difficulties, these very dangers and difficulties make it very difficult to abandon an undertaking, although experience may have shown that the advantages which it was expected would be derived from the undertaking are not to be had. But the VICEROY thought, and Lord SALISBURY concurred in the opinion, that to occupy a post in Khelat in the manner and for the purposes suggested was better and safer than to do nothing. Accordingly decisive measures were taken. A new treaty was made with the KHAN, by which the British Government undertook to defend the KHAN against foreign and internal foes, and to station an Agent with as many troops as it thinks proper in the posts which it may select to provide for the security of the country. The chiefs and the KHAN undertook to submit all their disputes to the arbitration of the Agent, and the old subsidy was restored to the KHAN, with a considerable increase. It seemed probable that much of the KHAN's misconduct and impotence had been due to his want of money, and now that he has a handsome sum of British money to spend, a British Agent to advise him, and British troops to overawe him, Lord SALISBURY conceives it probable that he will really turn over a new leaf, and that his conduct for the future will be all that could be wished.

As the post of occupation Quettah was chosen, partly



because it was convenient in itself, and partly because the choice of Quetta instead of the capital was conceived to be calculated to disarm the criticism of those who might suggest that under the treaty the independence of the KHAN is gone. As the troops are to stay at Quetta until order and good government are completely and permanently established in Khelat, Lord SALISBURY finds it entirely impossible to conjecture when their presence there will no longer be needed. But, as a sign that in theory their sojourn is of a kind that may some day come to an end, he directs that no money shall be laid out in providing buildings for their accommodation. At first the AMEER of CABUL was alarmed at the occupation of Quetta, and considered it a menace to him and his Afghans. More recently, however, he has declared that the occupation has his hearty approval, and that he sees in it a very desirable means of securing Afghan trade through the Bolan Pass; and Lord SALISBURY points out that any jealousy on the part of the AMEER would be utterly unreasonable, since any precedent derived from the treatment of a prince who gave England much trouble cannot be applicable to the AMEER as long as he behaves well to England. He has only got to be a good neighbour and he need not fear annexation or occupation. Moreover the intervention of the British Government in Khelat was not imposed upon, but solicited by, the people to whom it was applied, and this cannot be a sign to the AMEER that intervention will be applied to him against his will. In India and in England it will be recognized by those who study impartially Lord SALISBURY's despatch that the occupation of Quetta is not part of a new ambitious and aggressive policy. So far as the purport of this occupation has been misconceived, the misconception is mainly due to the incantatory utterances and random talk of Lord LYTTON, who often does the right thing, but almost always does the right thing in the wrong way. But even when Lord SALISBURY takes the matter in hand, and discusses it in a sensible and dignified way, no explanations can alter the fact that the occupation of Quetta marks the end of one policy and the beginning of another. The very ground on which Lord SALISBURY justifies it is that, if we had not done so much, we must have done much more. If we had not sent Major SANDEMAN and his escort to Quetta, we must have annexed Khelat bodily. The notion that we can maintain a frontier on the one side of which we make every one safe, and on the other side of which barbarian tribes misgovern themselves, is now abandoned as untenable. Our frontier line will be pushed forwards and forwards until it is continuous with that of a civilized Power; and all that can be said is that, if Lord SALISBURY recognizes this, he recognizes it as a sad necessity, and will retard the process to the utmost that may be within the power of a statesman who has once come to the conclusion that the boundaries of the Indian Empire cannot rest where it was once fondly hoped they might be fixed.

## FRANCE.

THE country whose Government proposes to take least part in the settlement of affairs in the East seems to be most absorbed by the discussions which that settlement provokes. France is careful to proclaim at every opportunity that her misfortunes have compelled her to stand apart from the deliberations of the Great Powers; and she seems to take a curious pride in showing how well she can play a character which she has only so lately been forced to assume. But the one interest that seems to occupy French politicians is a foreign interest; there is absolutely less going on in the French Chamber of Deputies than there is in the English House of Commons. Even the verification of powers seems no longer to excite the furious passions with which the process was associated a fortnight ago. There is far more curiosity felt about the movements of the British fleet than about the efforts of some reactionary deputy to retain his seat.

The best imitation perhaps of interest in domestic concerns has been aroused by the debates on the Ecclesiastical Budget. Some two years ago it was on this very question that M. DUBAURE was badgered into resignation. It is still to be seen whether, as the specific items in the Estimates come under debate, there may not be some return of the old ill fortune. As yet, however, there have only been general speeches, and in these the Government have borne no share. They have left the advanced Radicals of the Budget Commission to bear

the entire brunt of the reactionary attack. On the whole, they seem to have been well advised in this respect. A debate about disestablishment in France is still less of a reality than a debate about disestablishment in England. The speakers usually confine themselves to imposing generalities, and entirely avoid all attempts to apply them to the actual circumstances of France. They either represent the impracticable Legitimists or the equally impracticable Irreconcilables—the men who would construct an Ecclesiastical Budget on much the same principles as it might have been constructed before 1789, or the men whose one aim is to reduce the clergy from a state of poverty to one of destitution. It is only therefore as straws indicating the course of the wind that the debates on this question are to be regarded. They disclose the dreams of factions who may conceivably attain power some day, rather than the designs of parties who have any prospect of wielding power at present. There have been two debates on the Ecclesiastical Budget within the last ten days. In the first M. DE LA BASSETIÈRE made a general attack upon the atheistical aspirations of the Republican party, and in his eagerness to make a point did not hesitate to claim M. THIERS as an inchoate supporter of his theory, and to declare that, as he had once said the Republic must be Conservative or it will cease to exist, so he would now say, if he were living, the Republic must be religious or it will cease to exist. M. DE LA BASSETIÈRE's chief grievance against the Budget is that, under colour of raking up obsolete laws, it is really intended to accomplish the complete subjugation of the spiritual to the temporal power. It tries to revive the exploded heresies which found favour at the Court of Louis XIV., and accompanies the effort with a diminution of salaries which may accustom the public mind to see the clergy first impoverished and then despised. The sanguine temperament of the speaker was shown in his prediction that in a short time the majority in the Chamber of Deputies would be on the clerical side, that the hostility shown by the Radicals to the Church would soon disgust the nation, and that France would at last awake to the perception that the Church did not desire domination, but only the opportunity to bring everybody to think as she thinks.

The representative of the Budget Committee had his turn next. He admitted that France is religious, but distinguished between religion and subjection to a foreign Power. The Concordat is an engagement to which both Church and State are parties, and which imposes correlative obligations on each. The State, according to M. GUICHARD, has been punctilious in doing all that it has undertaken to do; but the Church has altogether omitted to do her part in return. The organic laws have been, and still are, disobeyed by the clergy; and it is the business of the Government, which is their paymaster, to insist upon their observance of them as an indispensable condition of giving them the money allotted to them. The debate was adjourned after M. GUICHARD's speech; but, on its being resumed some days later, M. BARAGNON undertook to answer him. In some respects the reply seems to have been decidedly successful. The truth is that on these matters both sides are always in the right and always in the wrong. With a little skill in selection, the Erastian advocate can always bring examples which go to establish the subordination of the Catholic Church to the civil power; while, on the other hand, the Ultramontane has no difficulty in proving that the Erastian theory is altogether inconsistent with any spiritual theory of religion. M. BARAGNON was able to say with perfect truth that in France the POPE does not claim to exercise any political power whatever. The Church knows no distinction between forms of government. She has a separate orbit into which these questions do not enter. Of course M. BARAGNON took care to stop at this point, and to say nothing as to the preference which the Church may feel for one political party over another, not for its own sake, but for the greater degree of independence which she hopes to obtain from it. M. BARAGNON did not at all exaggerate the Ultramontane indifference to politics, but this indifference is perfectly consistent with a devoted adherence now to one political party and now to another, according as they promise to promote the ends which the Church has in view. The party to which the Church is opposed can hardly be expected to distinguish between purely political sympathies and sympathies which are ecclesiastical in their origin and political only in their form. If every priest in France is ready to scheme against the Republic, it is only

a doubtful advantage that he is so not because he dislikes Republicanism, but because he thinks that another form of government would do more for the Church. M. BARAGNON declares that the object which the Church proposes to herself in that frontier territory on which she marches side by side with the State is not supremacy, but conciliation. It is not of much use to dispute about words, and it may be admitted that, as soon as the Church is conciliated, she is the very good friend of the civil authorities. Unfortunately the other side maintain that the Church never is conciliated by anything short of supremacy; and in this way the contest goes on without either side ever coming any nearer to an understanding with the other. M. BARAGNON was really happy in his description of the influence which time had exercised on the Concordat. No doubt, he said, it is illegal to address a bishop as "Monseigneur"; but politeness has been more powerful than law, and every bishop is addressed by this title, notwithstanding the prohibition. Republicans regard kings as in no way different from other men, but when M. GAMBEIRA paid his visit to the King of ITALY he did not call him "Monsieur." It is the same with the regulations relating to the publication of Papal briefs. There was some meaning in insisting on their preliminary authorization by the Government in the days when there were no newspapers. Now that they may be read the next morning by every layman, what is the good of trying to keep them from the knowledge of the bishops? So again with the visits of the bishops to Rome. They take their return-ticket just as an ordinary traveller does, and there is no longer any reason why they should obtain special permission from the Government to do what, in common with every other Frenchman, they have a right to do without permission. The political interest of the Ecclesiastical Budget will not begin until the Government attempts with greater or less success to mediate between these rival views.

#### IRISH FRANCHISE AND WASTE LANDS.

THE debate and division on Mr. MELDON'S Irish Borough Franchise project would have attracted more notice if they had not been followed at an interval of three days by Mr. TREVELYAN'S more exciting Resolution. The promoters obtained an unexpected success by mustering 126 votes against 134. If the Opposition had cared to defeat the Government, the motion might perhaps have been carried, especially as a few Conservative members took the opportunity to humour the Home Rule party in a matter which was probably thought trivial, and at the worst only injurious to Ireland. There is one plausible and superficial argument in favour of the abolition of the 4*l.* rating qualification. Uniformity of legislation between Great Britain and Ireland is so far desirable that it tends to diminish an ostensible grievance. Distinctions which can be described as arbitrary are used by agitators as proofs that the Imperial Parliament inflicts on Ireland a stigma or mark of inferiority. Demagogues easily convince their followers that, if household suffrage is a blessing, it ought not to be withheld from Ireland. Opposition to extension of the franchise is always invidious and unpopular. Democracy is in possession of all the commonplaces of political controversy; and its past triumphs are constantly quoted in support of additional demands. If it is objected that the new voters for whom the franchise is demanded are ignorant and disaffected, Mr. BRIGHT is ready to show that similar reasons have been urged against all Reform Bills, and to assume or assert that the Irish borough householders, if they are not perfect characters at present, will improve under the consciousness of political privilege. Of course the same arguments would establish the expediency of universal suffrage at all times and in all countries; nor is it known whether Mr. BRIGHT, though he formerly wished to exclude the residuum, would now shrink from the logical consequence of his own principle.

Although household suffrage is household suffrage, the quality of houses and of their inhabitants greatly varies. The 4*l.* rating qualification, corresponding nearly to a 6*l.* rental, would produce little or no effect if it were applied to English boroughs. There are few houses in towns of so low a rent; and, if there are any exceptions, occupiers below the limit would form but an insignificant minority of the constituency. In Irish boroughs, on the other hand,

Mr. MELDON'S clients would wholly swamp the existing body of voters. The control of the representation would be transferred to a multitude of which it may be said without injustice that it is not exempt from disloyalty and turbulence. Like Mr. TREVELYAN, Mr. MELDON would give large political power to day labourers who have the additional disqualification of entire subordination to priestly or revolutionary influence. Sir W. HARCOURT censured Mr. C. LEWIS for the suggestion that the new qualification would leave the Protestants in a hopeless minority in every constituency. It is not perhaps judicious to dwell on sectarian divisions, but the practical disfranchisement of Protestants means the exclusion from political power of the most intelligent and respectable part of the population. The Roman Catholics are entitled to the advantage of being a majority, but it is barely possible that they may abuse their superior force. It is true that the task of deteriorating the representation of Ireland might not at first sight seem easy. The many English and Scotch members who abstained from voting may perhaps have felt a natural indifference to the mode by which Home Rule members are returned to the House of Commons. Mr. LEWIS, Mr. PLUNKET, and the Irish ATTORNEY-GENERAL anticipate more serious evils from a measure which they may probably regard as inevitable. Any change will be for the worse, but it is proverbially easy to go downhill.

In Ireland democratic reformers will not hastily pledge themselves to the removal of all anomalies. Most of the boroughs are, in their Parliamentary capacity, artificial products of the desire of Governments and Parliaments for uniformity. In England, until Mr. TREVELYAN'S measure is passed, counties and towns are separately represented; and, if the boroughs return a majority of members, they contain half the population. In Ireland nearly all the boroughs are little towns which, if they had been in England, would have been long since disfranchised; but they retain their privileges because there are no other urban districts to which their rights could be transferred. A village consisting principally of farm-labourers' cottages ought not perhaps to complain too loudly because its unmerited privilege of returning a member is limited by certain restrictions. Theoretically the Irish boroughs ought to be included in electoral divisions of counties, where, according to the existing law, even the aristocracy of 4*l.* householders would not be entitled to votes. When the system is established in England, it will be soon afterwards extended to Ireland; and at the same time probably all property qualifications will be abolished. It is impossible to feel profound interest in a contest which has little present importance, and which will in a few years be obsolete; but a scrupulously conscientious member would probably vote against Mr. MELDON'S measure, on the ground that it tends to the election by worse constituencies of worse representatives. Sir W. HARCOURT congratulated Mr. LOWTHER on his absence from a debate on one of many conventional Irish grievances. Before he has held the office of Irish Secretary long, he will understand the difficulties of his position; and it may be hoped that he will refuse or evade concession as gracefully as his predecessor. In his first appearance in his new office he had an opportunity of offering the customary assurances that the Government would carefully consider the unobjectionable part of a scheme which could not be accepted as a whole.

Mr. MACCARTHY'S Bill, which, according to its title, purported to provide for the reclamation of waste lands in Ireland, included, among other objects, arterial drainage and the establishment on reclaimed lands of numbers of small occupiers, who were ultimately to become freeholders. The definition of waste lands was wide and elastic, extending to commons and uncultivated lands which would not let for more than five shillings an acre, and which are capable of being made worth ten shillings an acre. It was not expressly stipulated that the improvement should be profitable. There is much land both in Great Britain and in Ireland which might be doubled in value by improvements effected without regard to expense. The judgment of a Commission on the question whether any piece of land fell within the provisions of the Bill would be at least fallible. Commissioners were to be appointed who were to create districts for the purposes of the Act, and to determine the estimated and actual value of all lands with which they might afterwards deal. Their most important power was to determine the contribution of every owner to the expense of drainage and other improvements; and their award was to be valid if it was approved by one half of



the number of owners and occupiers in the district taken conjointly. It might therefore have happened that all or nearly all the owners in a district might have been compelled against their will to contribute to the supposed improvement of their own lands at the instance of the occupiers. There was no power of compulsory purchase; but the Commissioners might buy lands within the district, and let them in allotments varying from ten to a hundred acres, with power to the tenant to purchase the fee-simple by instalments. The only part of the proposal which belonged to the province of legislation was perhaps introduced for the purpose of recommending the rest of the scheme. Large tracts of bog land can only be reclaimed by arterial drainage; and it is necessary for the purpose to enable a defined majority to bind the whole body of owners. Such organizations have long been established in the English Eastern counties; and under former public Acts large portions of Irish bog have been reclaimed. In England the initiative has been taken, not by the Government, but by those who were locally interested in the improvement of the land. If the intervention of the Legislature or of the Government is necessary in Ireland, it ought to be confined to the object of arterial drainage, and not to include doubtful economical experiments. Improvements under former Acts have partially succeeded; but large districts are still supposed to be capable of profitable drainage. If further facilities are required, no party would oppose the extension of former Acts or the removal of any technical impediments which may have been found to exist. Few of those who supported Mr. MACCARTHY by their votes spoke in favour of the whole of his complicated scheme. On the whole, he may perhaps have been satisfied with a not discreditable division; and it is fair to admit that he proposed to deal with a practical question. His Bill would not have involved confiscation of property; and drainage, where it is practicable, will do much more good than any extension of the borough franchise.

#### THE FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

IT is unfortunate that some arrangement is not devised for drawing a sharper distinction between the consolidation and the amendment of Acts of Parliament. As it is, few things are less satisfactory than the progress of a consolidating statute through Committee. Every line of it is liable to be challenged, and to every challenge the Minister in charge of the Bill has usually the same answer. The clause objected to is not new, it will be found in such and such an Act of such and such a year; consequently, as the object of this Bill is to bring all the provisions relating to a given subject into a single statute, it is inconvenient to make the objection. The Minister is right. Consolidation is one thing and amendment another; and if the process of consolidation discloses some flagrant defects in the law, it is generally better to amend these errors first, and then to reduce the various parallel statutes into a convenient shape. But, if the Minister is right, the practice of Parliament is clearly wrong. If it is inconvenient to mix up consolidation and amendment, why should they be mixed up in practice? If it is a good answer that the provision objected to has merely been copied from a law already in force, why should it be necessary to give that answer again and again? A great deal of time might be saved if the House of Commons were to determine that, upon the production of a proper certificate from competent experts, that a consolidating Bill made no change in the existing law, it should be taken as passed after it had been read a second time. The opportunity for a general debate on the propriety of consolidating the law in its present state would thus be reserved, and in such a debate it would be a strictly relevant argument that the law needed amendment before consolidation. But the opportunities for trying to make consolidation and amendment go hand in hand would no longer exist, and their removal would mean the removal of at least one source of legislative bungling. The House would be spared the sight of those pages of amendments in the Notice Paper which Mr. CROSS so justly deprecated the other day in connexion with the Factories and Workshops Bill.

The debate on Mr. FAWCETT's amendment on the motion to go into Committee on this Bill was more interesting than practical. There is a great deal of weight in the argument that the application of different measures of restriction to different trades tends to disturb the general

labour market. Labourers who are prohibited from doing one kind of work and left free to do another kind are unable to choose their employment simply with reference to the demand for labour that may happen to exist in this or that trade. Mr. CROSS has admitted the inconvenience of regulations which cause this disturbance, and some of the provisions in this Bill are designed to secure greater uniformity as regards the restrictions which govern the employment of women and children in different industries. Mr. FAWCETT complains that, while the Government are introducing greater uniformity with one hand, they are intensifying the divergence with the other. In making the regulations as regards children employed in factories and workshops more consistent with one another, the inconsistency between these regulations and those which govern the employment of children in agriculture has become more obvious. The difference between the conditions of a labourer's child in an agricultural and in a manufacturing district was very plainly stated by Lord FREDERICK CAVENDISH. If a child has not passed a certain standard, or made a certain number of school attendances, he cannot be employed at all in agriculture; whereas in a factory he may be employed half time. On the other hand, a child of ten who has passed a certain standard or made a certain number of school attendances may be employed full time in agriculture, but only half time in a factory. The effect of this latter provision is undoubtedly injurious to clever children. They are likely to be pushed on unduly in order to qualify them to pass in the prescribed standard, with the single object of exempting them from all further attendance at school. It does not matter how great progress a child may have made up to the age of ten; he will retain little or nothing of what he has learnt by the time that he is fifteen. It would be a very great improvement in the law if a certain amount of education were secured for children employed in agriculture between the ages of ten and thirteen. But this can only be done effectually through the means of further extensions of the Education Acts. The Act of 1876 was a step of immense importance in this direction; but its importance lay almost exclusively in the principle it established. It made compulsion universal whenever the Education Department has the courage to insist upon it. But, in applying this principle, it stopped very far short of the length to which it had already been carried by the Factories and Workshops Acts. The consequence was that children who came under the Factories and Workshops Acts undoubtedly stand in a position as regards agricultural children which will be variously described as one of advantage or disadvantage according as the question is viewed from the child's, or the parent's, or the employer's point of view. The child gets less education; the parent gets the child's wages at an earlier age; the employer has a larger stock of low-priced labour at his disposal. Mr. FAWCETT desires to see this anomaly remedied by an application to agriculture of the provisions of the Factories and Workshops Acts. It is very doubtful whether, if Parliament had to legislate over again on this subject, it would not be wise to go upon a wholly different plan; and, instead of inserting educational clauses in a Factories and Workshops Act, to deal with educational questions exclusively in educational statutes. At all events, there seems no good reason for importing the complicated machinery of inspection into a field which has up to this time been altogether exempt from it, and to which it could only be applied with great difficulty and at great cost. The true way of carrying out Mr. FAWCETT's Resolution is to amend the Education Act of 1876. The present is certainly not a favourable moment for taking this enterprise in hand, but nothing would be gained in the long run by attempting to reach the end which Mr. FAWCETT rightly desires to see attained by the particular road along which he wishes to travel.

A not very energetic opposition was offered on Thursday to the clauses which limit the labour of adult women in factories and workshops. The subject is one of great difficulty, because what appears on the whole to be a useful practice is certainly opposed to sound theory. There can be no doubt that the physical health of women, and especially of married women, is benefited by the limitations which the law imposes on their labour. They are treated as a protected class on the same principle, though not to the same extent, as children are treated. The law undertakes to do for women what Trade-Unions undertake to do for men; the difference being that the

Union crusade against overtime has reference chiefly to the amount of additional pay which a man working overtime can claim, while the law aims at putting an end to overtime altogether. It is contended, and contended very truly, that to treat women in this way is really to prevent them from earning as good a livelihood as they might otherwise earn. They are ordinarily very poor, and the wages they receive are usually very low. Why should the law step in and prevent them from making these wages larger by making their hours longer? Parliament has no right, it is urged, to interfere in this half-and-half spirit. If it is not prepared to put women in the way of moderate wages in return for moderate labour, it ought not to hinder them from earning moderate wages by immoderate labour. Supposing that their health does suffer from working longer than is good for them, will it not equally suffer from eating less than is good for them? And if a sufficiency of food can only be obtained by an overplus of work, what business has Parliament to arrogate to itself the right of deciding that it is better to have too little to eat than too much to do? These are not questions that it is at all easy to answer, and the difficulty is not lessened by the just suspicion which exists as to the sincerity of the desire often expressed by workingmen that women should continue to be placed under special protection in regard to their hours of work. Special protection is in this case tantamount to special disabilities; and it may be questioned whether it is not in this latter aspect that the existing law most commends itself to those who regard a woman rather as a rival than as a helpmeet. Yet the medical argument on the other side is undoubtedly very strong; and until women show more power of protecting themselves, it can hardly be regretted that the law should insist on protecting them.

#### THE BURIALS QUESTION.

IF the Liberal party propose to ride into power again on the top of a hearse, we neither recognize their wisdom nor admire their taste. Very possibly they may win a few seats more or less among the boroughs by a simulated sympathy with the wrongs alleged by the Burials agitators; but the temporary success will have been dearly bought by precipitating a crisis in which the Established Church may or may not founder, but which will certainly prove the *coup de grâce* of Liberalism as contrasted with naked unqualified Radicalism. Demagogues for whose continuous support Liberal politicians are now bidding will laugh at the folly of fancying that Liberationists would rest content with so small an instalment, and they will use their advantage by playing even more openly than they now dare the great game of confiscatory disestablishment. This is an assertion which rests for proof on the volunteered and unequivocal language of the leaders of the agitation, delivered on occasions when they must have been aware they would find readers, though not hearers, far beyond the limits of the caucus to which it was in the first place offered. Our statement is unqualified because the evidence is on record in those gentlemen's own deliberate explanations of their own intentions in now pressing forward the Burials Bill. No man stands higher in London among Dissenting ministers than Dr. LANDELS, while he is a favourite orator on the Liberation platform. We cannot be wrong if we sit at Dr. LANDELS's feet and learn the holy lesson of Dissenting politics, although we may be surprised when we hear the new HILDEBRAND declaring that, "in spite of Government and in spite of clergy, we will carry our Burials Bill." This, it seems, will put the Liberationists, at whose conference the eloquent divine was speaking, "a step nearer the ultimate goal," nor will there then be much between them and the "citadel." They will, as the orator boasts, take possession of the outworks, and the fortress will soon fall into their hands; "for we do not conceal the fact that this is our final aim, and that we cannot rest satisfied until that aim has been realized. Our clerical friends, in arguing against the Burials Bill, tell us, with refreshing simplicity, that, if we get into the Churchyards, we will want to get into the Churches next. What charming innocents they must be to put it thus! I think that, if by getting into the Churches they mean that we shall demand to have national property employed for national purposes, and not reserved for the exclusive use of a sect, why then, of course, we mean to

"get into the Churches. And, what is more, if our right to the Churches be as good as our right to the Churchyards, we will succeed in gaining what we demand." An even more prominent, if not a greater, name in the ranks of militant Nonconformity is that of Mr. R. W. DALE, and that gentleman proclaimed at a meeting held at Birmingham that "Nonconformists had not concealed what their real intentions were. What they were going in for was complete religious equality in life as well as in death, and, as they asserted that the Graveyards belonged to the parish, so they asserted that the Church belonged to the parish. They did not intend to disguise how far their principles carried them."

We conceive that it would be a superfluous, though easy, labour to continue our elegant extracts from the literature of Nonconformist plain-speaking. In face of such proclamations on the part of the representative men of political Nonconformity, it would be an abdication of manly common sense, or a hypocritical pretence, to aver that the demand for free-trade in burial services—which Lord HARTINGTON is kindly content should remain an open question in view of the general election—is anything but veiled Disestablishment. There may be some good, kind people, "charming innocents," as Dr. LANDELS politely terms them, who really cannot see the connexion between the Burials Bill as advocated by Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN in the House of Commons, and Disestablishment as pressed by Mr. DALE in Liberation meetings. So there were amiable and innocent Friends of the People in France, from LOUIS XVI. downwards, during the last decade of the eighteenth century, who dreamed that constitutional government would be secured by abandoning constitutional guarantees; but their engaging simplicity did not prevent the guillotine from being set up, nor their own necks from forming an early acquaintance with its operation. These frank confessions have been made at an opportune moment, for they effectively dispose of the "Christian and orderly" chimera of Lord HARROWBY and the ARCHBISHOPS. This compromise was tendered by its authors under an avowed dread of its being rejected. They must now perceive that it appeared too ridiculous to those whom they hoped to conciliate to deserve even a serious rejection.

In fact, we do not hesitate to say that the Dissenters occupy a far more respectable public position in merely employing the burials grievance as the stalking-horse of a far-reaching policy of revolution than if the relief which Mr. MORGAN demands were in their eyes really a consideration of some practical value. "All is fair in war," we are told, and the society represented by Dr. LANDELS and Mr. DALE is certainly at war with the Church of England; but any peaceable demand on the part of Dissent for securing running powers over the churchyard is mean and discreditable at a moment when the QUEEN's signature to the Act which abolished compulsory Church-rates is hardly yet dry. So long as Church-rates were compulsory the man who was compelled to pay them could allege some sort of plausible claim to have his tastes consulted in church and in churchyard. But the Dissenters deliberately chose to save their pockets and to withdraw from all the rights in God's house and acre which forced contributions could confer. They threw upon those Churchmen who were willing to saddle themselves with the obligation the whole burden of keeping in repair the graveyards; while Churchmen for their own part—instead of complaining or agitating—quietly accepted the unassisted responsibility on behalf of their Dissenting fellow-parishioners, no less than of themselves, during the few years which have elapsed. They have never repined at their anomalous position of trustees who had personally to pay for the discharge of a public trust, nor raised any difficulty in helping those who had declined to subscribe while living to be in death laid in these very graveyards of which they had repudiated the maintenance. The only condition to which they held was that the *status in quo* excluding competing forms of burial service should not be tampered with in what was now unquestionably their personal possession.

There can be no doubt that the representatives of Church interests were wise when they cheerfully accepted the settlement contained in the Act of 1868. The old state of things was an impossible survival of that absolute identification of Church and State after which Mr. WALTER HANKERS, without perceiving that it involves persecution as the duty of the civil magistrate. The Concordat embodied in the Church Rates Act accommodates, consistently with



the principles of justice, the claims of establishment, toleration, and property; and it is therefore now the highest injustice to attempt to tear it up in the selfish interest of one of the parties benefited. It was a curious proof of the self-consciousness of a bad cause that no speaker on Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN'S side so much as attempted to construct any argument in defence of the inconsistency of the Dissenters in forcing their obstreperous demands for a share in a privilege the price of which they as obstreperously succeeded so few years ago in repudiating. The endeavour, which had a transitory existence in the earliest draft of Mr. MORGAN'S Bill, to get over this injustice by re-establishing for the churchyard the compulsion of the rate was so obviously illusory that it only deserves to be remembered as affording an evidence of the uneasy sense of the unfairness of their action with which the authors of the proposal embarked upon the enterprise.

The upshot, however, of the cynical inconsistency of the agitation is that Churchmen find themselves driven, by no choice of their own, into the attitude of what is invidiously called No Surrender as to the existing churchyards. It is not their obstinacy, but the words and deeds of the other side, which have invested the *status in quo* with a value incommensurate with that of the material conditions connected with the present state of the law. If it be *kismet* that the party which began by repudiating all interest in their maintenance should succeed in obtaining unrestricted control over those graveyards, Churchmen can only submit to be stripped by Dr. LANDELS, and twitted by the Archbishop of CANTERBURY as the men who have made an unconditional surrender. But they will not have doubled the loss of material advantage by making a gratuitous present to the other side of that moral advantage which a great party always retains when it understands how to fall with honour, dignity, and consistency. But, if they choose to play the part of silly sentimentalists, and toy with any trumpety compromises, they will, for all practical purposes, lose all they care to keep, and they will only invite a very speedy repetition of the same aggressive tactics over the larger question of Disestablishment on the part of adversaries whose strength will lie in their weakness. If, on the other hand, they respect themselves, and, even if now defeated, hold together under a sense of common injury, they may for an indefinite period resist the further entrance of Disestablishment into the field of practical politics.

#### ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

THE character of the opposition to the Ancient Monuments Bill was shown by the contempt with which Mr. PLUNKETT and Mr. RAIKES treated the recommendations of the Select Committee to which a similar measure was referred last year. In order to smooth the passage of the Bill Sir JOHN LUBBOCK has accepted all the amendments which that Committee suggested. But, though Mr. PLUNKETT acknowledged that the Bill had been improved, his hostility to the appointment of a continuous Commission remains unchanged. The only compromise that he could listen to would be one by which all the monuments it is desired to preserve should be enumerated in a schedule, and none should be preserved except by the consent and at the cost of their owners. On this latter point Mr. RAIKES is apparently like-minded with Mr. PLUNKETT. He urged Sir JOHN LUBBOCK to make the proposed Commissioners the mere recipients of such ancient monuments as it may be the wish of the owners to hand over to them. This arrangement would leave every owner free to exert the sacred right of destroying any historical monuments that might unfortunately be situated on his land, and would consequently make the Act a dull, because purposeless, farce. The object of the proposed Commission is not to deprive well-disposed people of the pleasure of owning historical monuments. So long as they are willing to keep their hands off them, there is no reason why they should not continue to possess them. The need for a Commission arises precisely at the point at which Mr. RAIKES proposes that the functions of the Commission should come to an end. He would keep a public body ready to receive historical monuments from owners in whose hands they may be safely left, but he recoils from the thought of interfering with an owner whose idea of dealing with an

historical monument is to plough up the site or to break the stones to bits. Mr. RAIKES has assisted often enough at the enactment of Acts of Parliament giving powers of compulsory purchase to schemes of doubtful utility. It is only when the object appeals to the intellect of the nation and not to its pocket that compulsory purchase takes the shape of undue interference with rights of property. Yet the extent of the interference is usually very much greater in the former case than in the latter. When a Railway Company takes property, it for the most part injures that which it leaves. A house is a very much less enjoyable possession when it has an embankment at the bottom of the lawn or a viaduct cutting across the prospect. Yet this annoyance is inflicted without scruple by Parliament, on the plea that it is indispensable that the inhabitants of one small town should spend one hour instead of three in the journey to another small town. The preservation of an historical monument does but save an estate from sustaining an irreparable injury. Even Mr. RAIKES himself would hardly give as much for the field on which Stonehenge stands if the stones were removed as he would give while they are still standing. Of course we fully acquit him of any desire to buy such rubbish at all; but, supposing that he were compelled to buy the land with or without Stonehenge, we fancy that he would like Stonehenge to remain. It is only when it is suggested that the land should be bought for the express purpose of keeping Stonehenge that he comes forward to maintain the right of every dullard to do what he will with his own.

Mr. PLUNKETT'S anxiety that every monument which it is proposed to preserve should be specified in the schedules to the Bill is perfectly intelligible. He knows very well that to do this would be to make shipwreck of the measure. If the Commission had no power of compulsory purchase, we should be no better off than we are now. The owners against whose barbarism it is desired to take precautions would have nothing to say to the Commission. The owners who were willing to make arrangements with the Commission would be the owners against whose action there is no need to take precaution. If, on the other hand, it were proposed to make an end of the matter at once by buying all monuments specified in the comprehensive schedules which Mr. PLUNKETT wishes to see drawn up, two fatal objections would at once present themselves. Such a step would be needlessly extravagant, and it would involve a needless interference with the rights of property. It may be hoped that there are many owners with whom an historical monument would be as safe as with a Commission. Why should the public be taxed to buy historical monuments which are as well preserved where they are as they would be if they became national property? Why, again, should an owner who puts a great value on such a monument, and possibly regards it as the bit of his estate which he would least like to part with, be forcibly dispossessed? There is no public interest involved, for the public interest is sufficiently protected by a provision for dispossessing, not the present owner, but any successor of his who may be differently minded. And to dispossess an owner without any adequate public interest involves a violation of the rights of property which it would be shocking to hear hinted at by Mr. PLUNKETT if there were the least reason to suppose that he intended the words to be taken in their obvious sense.

The real fault of the Ancient Monuments Bill is not that it goes too far, but that it does not go far enough. Its scope is limited to British, Celtic, Roman, Danish, or Saxon remains; whereas we should like to see it include really historical monuments, of whatever period. It is true that a church or a castle runs somewhat less risk of being pulled down than a primitive earthwork or a ring of Druidical stones. The former has a conspicuous importance, which the latter wants; and, if it be a church, it belongs to owners who have seldom any personal interest in destroying it. But this safeguard is by no means adequate to prevent a great deal of injury being done to monuments of this latter class. Probably, if the Dean and Chapter of Westminster announced their intention of building a church better suited to Protestant worship on the site of the existing Abbey, they would be prevented by public indignation from carrying out their plan. But it is quite conceivable that some less conspicuous instance of destruction might be carried through on the plea of local or congregational con-

venience without Parliament being moved to interpose. Even in London there have been churches pulled down which had an historical claim to preservation, and there is not an old building in the country that may not at any moment lie at the mercy of the architect who is called in to restore it. The provisions of the Ancient Monuments Bill might easily be applied to cases of this kind. As the interest in a church is only a life interest, no question of buying the edifice would arise. The Commissioners would only need to acquire a "power of restraint" in respect of it. As the use of the building would in no way be interfered with, this power of restraint might be conferred on the Commissioners without any consideration being paid by them. They would not desire to prevent the full use of a church; their interference would be limited to cases in which total or partial demolition was proposed under the plea of greater usefulness.

There is no need, however, to contemplate possible extensions of a Bill which has not yet become an Act. A second reading by a small majority in a thin House gives only a doubtful promise of success, and the House of Commons may yet show at some future stage of the measure that it is unable to maintain even the little advance that it has made in the art of distinguishing between the use of property and its abuse. If the Bill does not get through Committee, it will be a proof that a large proportion of members of Parliament are either imperfectly gifted with the instincts natural to every educated man or have repressed them with remarkable success. Professions of tenderness for the taxpayer's pocket ought not to be allowed to cover a determination to sacrifice objects of the highest national interest to the obstinacy of a few proprietors of land. As regards the alleged interference with the rights of property, the names which year after year appear on the back of the Bill are a sufficient answer to such a charge. It is improbable that either Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, or Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, or Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, or Mr. RUSSELL GUNNEY should make themselves the agents of socialistic designs upon property; but the improbability becomes infinitely greater when all their names are appended to the Bill. The chance of these four men attempting to spring a Communist mine upon the House of Commons is too remote to have any claim to be taken into account.

#### THE CONCLAVE AND ITS RESULT.

IT has been justly remarked by a writer who is the great English authority on the subject of Conclaves, that "history presents no more astonishing spectacle than the contrast between the mean causes which have frequently decided the fate of Papal elections and the momentous issues that have flowed from them." No more conspicuous example of this contrast could well be found than in the election of Pius IX., after a Conclave lasting only two days, through a concurrence of unforeseen accidents culminating in the arrival of the Austrian veto twelve hours too late to impede a choice already made. The *Daily News* indeed informed its readers last Tuesday, in an article professing that minute acquaintance with the arrangements of a Conclave of which Correspondents and Special Correspondents have lately been offering such marvellous illustrations, that, "even when the election has taken place there is the possibility that one of the Catholic powers may object," and that the veto thus interposed may take effect. It is hardly necessary to say that the veto claimed by Spain, Austria, and France can only be exercised once, and only before any election has taken place; and hence, as Mr. Cartwright shows, one of the commonest devices in Papal elections is to put forward sham candidates in order to elicit and exhaust the veto entrusted by the Catholic Sovereigns to some Cardinal in their confidence. The process of prophetic gossip has perhaps been carried to its furthest extent by the Correspondent of the *New York Herald*, who managed, if we may trust his own account of the matter, to interview all the Cardinals in succession, or at least all whom he could find in Rome, with a view, to quote his own happy phrase, of making the whole body "defile one by one before the reader in the order of their creation." And it must in fairness be allowed that, if the information thus extracted was not very precise, the fault cannot be charged on any superfluous delicacy or reserve of his own; for, although the interviews appear to have occurred before the death of Pius IX., he made a point of asking each Cardinal in succession as to whom he thought likely to succeed, and what policy the new pontiff would pursue. The kind of answers he received—or certainly would have received—may be gathered from those put into the mouths respectively of Cardinals Guidi, Pecci, and Franchi. To an inquiry whether the new Pope ought to adopt a policy of compromise or of resistance Cardinal Guidi discreetly replied, "I am of opinion that while maintaining the preten-

sions of the Church the future Pope should avoid everything like exaggeration." Not less admirably prudent is the answer attributed to Cardinal Pecci—now Leo XIII.—to the question whether, if elected Pope himself, he intended to reside in Rome:—"You will inquire my address; it will always be known." Cardinal Franchi, when asked what changes he would make, if elected Pope, is reported to have answered with equal discretion, "Those permitted to me by the general disposition manifested by the Conclave." We are not aware that the Special Correspondent of the *Times* at Rome, in spite of the splendid example recently set by his Spanish colleague, undertook to emulate the enterprising American, and interview the Cardinals as to their votes in the coming Conclave. But his notions of the probable consequences of electing a non-Italian Pope—which he rightly considered unlikely, though his reasons for thinking so were peculiar—must have rather startled his English readers. The Catholic Church would in that case, he considered, become nationalized, but on the other hand would gain the allegiance of the nation to which the new Pope belonged, whether Catholic or Protestant. And accordingly, "if Cardinal Manning could succeed in bringing the Conclave and the Pope to England, he might realize his long cherished scheme of saying Mass in Westminster Abbey: he might even extend his Catholic Church all over Great Britain and the whole Anglo-Saxon world, but he would lose the allegiance of all the countries where other languages are spoken." Had it ever occurred to the Italian Cardinals to share the anticipation expressed in the first half of this remarkable passage, they might not improbably, and still less unreasonably, have been disposed to make Cardinal Manning Pope.

But our readers will have heard more than enough of the guesses and predictions hazarded up to the last moment by the rumours of the daily press. It may, however, interest them to be told something, even if it should only remind them of what they have already learnt from our columns or elsewhere, of the nature and history of the process by which Pius IX. has just been provided with a successor in a Conclave of even shorter duration than that at which he was himself elected in June 1846. The longest Conclave on record, held at Viterbo after the death of Clement IV., lasted nearly three years (two years and nine months) before Gregory X. was elected, and at the end of the same century two years and three months were consumed in the election of Celestine V. So long an interregnum was however a rare and in former days a very disastrous occurrence. For during the vacancy of the Holy See all the ordinary machinery of Government was suspended, the gaols were thrown open, and Rome was reduced to a state of chronic anarchy and outrage. But Conclaves have often lasted for several weeks or months. There are three Papal Constitutions which may be said together to form the Magna Charta of the Sacred College, whose electoral rights date from the middle of the eleventh century. Before that time the Pope had been elected by the clergy and people of Rome. A Bull of Nicholas II. in 1059 created the College of Cardinals and endowed them with the exclusive right of the franchise, leaving to the Romans the barren privilege of signifying their acquiescence in the choice already made, and reserving, in terms studiously vague, "the honour and reverence" due to the Emperor. By a decree of Alexander III. in the next century, promulgated at the third Lateran Council (1179), two-thirds of the votes were made necessary for a valid election. And a century later again Gregory X. by a Constitution of the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 fixed the forms of election, which remain substantially unchanged to the present day, in spite of a dispensing power which Popes have exercised under rare and exceptional circumstances. By this ordinance an interval of ten days is prescribed after the Pope's death, in order to allow time for the arrival of absent Cardinals, the ceremonies of each day being rigidly fixed. On the tenth day the Cardinals with their "Conclavists" and other subordinate functionaries are to be immured in the palace, whichever it may happen to be, where the late Pope has died, for the election of his successor; they are bound by an oath of secrecy, and arrangements, which it is needless to say are habitually evaded, are prescribed for shutting them off from all communication with the outer world; minute regulations were added as to the gradually diminishing quantity of food to be allowed them—in order to secure a speedy election—which, however, have never been enforced. We may add that elaborate directions as to the ceremonial to be observed in Conclaves are laid down in a Bull issued by Gregory XV. in 1621 and still in force. The chief official during an interregnum is the Camerlengo, in whose name all edicts used to run and all coins were struck, and who was formerly the actual ruler of Rome for the time; but his authority has of late years been restricted to the discharge of mere formal and routine duties, the civil administration of the Popeless city being transferred to the hands of the Governor of Rome. Even the shadow of civil power has now of course passed away, and as the Camerlengo can no longer exercise any real authority, and therefore can provoke no jealousies, it is the less wonderful that the precedent which for many generations has excluded him as well as the late Secretary of State from election should in the present case have been broken through.

We have seen that the proper place for the Conclave to assemble is the palace where the Pope died, and in accordance with this rule elections have been held in various localities, as e.g. in the Minerva and in the Sta. Sabina on the Aventine, the first held at the Vatican being in 1303 just before the migration to Avignon, and the second in 1378 on the return to Rome. But from 1455 began a succession of Vatican Conclaves which lasted with-



out a break till 1823, when, in consequence of Pius VII. expiring at the Quirinal, the Cardinals met there to elect a new Pope; and thenceforth they have continued to meet there on each subsequent vacancy, from reasons of practical convenience but without having the same justification for it. This time they were of course obliged to resume the use of the Vatican, in accordance with the letter of the rule, and it is worth noting that at the first Conclave summoned by telegraph the unprecedented proportion of all but two of the Cardinals were present. Their first act on entering a Conclave is to prove their right of suffrage, and it may be observed that celibacy appears to be the only absolutely indispensable qualification for the purple. Laymen may be, and often have been made Cardinals, nor is it even necessary for them to take holy orders afterwards, though it is usual at least to enter the subdiaconate, which carries the obligation of perpetual celibacy. Boys of fourteen and even of eight years old have been made Cardinals, like Don Luis of Bourbon in 1735, but it is probable that they received minor orders, or at least the tonsure. The Cardinal Archduke Albert, who eventually married, seems however to have been simply a layman, but he nevertheless took part in the election of Urban VII. There have been indeed three lay Popes, Leo XII., the nominee of Otho, John XIX. (who bought the office), and Adrian V., the latter of whom died after a month's reign without taking any orders, but the decrees he issued remained not the less in force through the next six pontificates till they were rescinded by Celestine V. So sacred and inviolable is a Cardinal's right of suffrage, whether he be in orders or not, that no suspension, excommunication, degradation, or interdict can deprive him of it. Leo X. and Clement XII. pronounced sentences of exclusion against obnoxious Cardinals, but were compelled to revoke them as illegal, and a similar injunction of Adrian VI. on his deathbed was disregarded. Cardinal Coscia, who had been imprisoned for scandalous crimes, was actually liberated from St. Angelo to take part in the Conclave. There can be no doubt that the attempt of Pius IX. to deprive Cardinal Andrea of "the voice, active and passive," would have been disallowed if the Cardinal had survived him.

And now, to pass from the rights of the electors to the process of election there are three methods recognized—by inspiration, by compromise, and by ballot. The first may be dismissed as "an ideal conception," though ecclesiastical writers profess to record some eight examples of it, confounding acclamation after previous discussion with the almost miraculous unanimity required for inspiration by the canonical rule. Election by compromise was first introduced after the long interregnum at Viterbo (1268-1271) already referred to, when the Cardinals at length agreed to delegate their powers to a small committee of their own body, and it has been adopted on several subsequent occasions. But the usual method is by ballot, which is regulated by a very elaborate code, and involves ordinarily a double process of voting daily. Each Cardinal drops into a chalice on the altar a paper with the candidate's name for whom he desires to vote—it must not be his own—written in the middle, his own name being written at one end, and a Scriptural motto, which he has to keep unchanged during the Conclave, at the other end, both ends being sealed down. If this first voting gives any candidate a majority of two-thirds, he is elected; but that seldom happens, and there is accordingly a second ballot in the afternoon, when those who adhere to their original vote write *Nemini* on their papers, and those who wish to transfer their vote to any other nominee of the morning—no new name can be introduced in the second ballot—write *Accedo domino Cardinali* So and So. This double process may, if desired, be repeated twice daily, as was done in the election of Pius IX. Should the second ballot—or *accessus*, as it is called—fail to produce a majority of two-thirds for any candidate, the voting papers are burnt in a stove kept behind the altar, and the rising smoke notifies to the outside world that no election has yet taken place. But as soon as the ballot has furnished the requisite majority of two-thirds and the elect has accepted the office—for it cannot be forced on him against his will—the Conclave is declared at an end; the doors are thrown open, and all the canopies in the chapel are lowered except that over the seat of the newly elected Pope, who then and there receives the homage or "first adoration" of the assembled Cardinals, while the Cardinal Dean proclaims his election to the people from the reopened balcony window, which had been previously walled up, in the words *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum: Papam habemus, eminentissimum ac reverendissimum Dominum*—adding his old name and that which he has taken on his election. Either on the same or the next day follow the second and third adorations on the High Altar of St. Peter's, this time it was in the Sistine Chapel, during which the *Te Deum* is chanted, and the Pope then bestows his benediction on the assembled multitude. The coronation at St. Peter's and the procession to St. John Lateran are usually deferred till the following Sunday. At the former ceremony a silver rod is held before the new Pope tipped with a bundle of tow which is set on fire, and, while it is burning, the words are sung, "*Sancte Pater, sic transit gloria mundi.*" After the High Mass, during which he receives homage from all the clergy, the Pope is borne in procession to the balcony overlooking the piazza of St. Peter, where the triple crown is placed on his head, in presence of the assembled people, by the second senior Cardinal Deacon with the imposing formula, "*Accipe tiaram tribus coronis ornatam, et scias te esse patrem principum et regum, rectorem orbis, in terra Vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria*

*in secula seculorum.*" In the procession to the Lateran Basilica, the Metropolitan Church *urbis et orbis*, the Popes have hitherto traversed the whole city of Rome, and down to very recent times it was usual for them to ride there on a white palfrey escorted by the Sacred College also on horseback. Pius IX. wished to revive the custom, when he took possession of St. John Lateran, but the aged Cardinals objected not unnaturally to so long a ride.

Two things, however, should be borne in mind; first that it is the election alone, and not any of the subsequent ceremonies, that invests the elect with the plenitude of Papal powers; he issues from the Conclave "every inch a Pope." In the case of Leo XIII. it seems that the public coronation and the procession to St. John Lateran are to be omitted. Secondly, it must be remembered—and the point has an obvious importance at the present crisis of affairs—that at his coronation the Pope does not bind himself by any oath, and if at a subsequent Consistory it is customary, though by no means obligatory on him, to swear to the observance of certain Bulls and Constitutions, there is nothing in such engagements from which Popes are not universally held competent to dispense themselves for sufficient cause. The Bull of Alexander VII., which is usually cited in defence of the *Non possumus*, is in fact a re-enactment of a previous Bull of Pius V. which was materially altered by Gregory IV. after he had himself sworn to observe it, and afterwards restored to its earlier form by Clement VIII.; and moreover it is clear from the language of the document that it is directed against the prevalent vice of nepotism, and in no wise limits the power of the Pope to divest himself of territorial possessions in deference to the dictates of policy. There is in short no conscientious obligation whatever to hinder a Pope from abdicating his temporal sovereignty, if he judges it to be for the interest of the Church to do so. Whether Leo XIII. is likely to take so decided a step is quite another question. His election, of which we may have occasion to say more hereafter, is regarded as a triumph of the moderate party, and what is known of his antecedents justifies this view. Joachim Pecci was born on March 2, 1810, and was sent by Gregory XVI. as nuncio to King Leopold of Belgium, at whose request he would have been made Cardinal but for the opposition of Antonelli, which delayed his elevation for several years. He was however raised to the purple by Pius IX. in 1853, though it was not till after Antonelli's death that he was summoned to Rome, and only last November he was appointed to the post of Camerlengo. As Archbishop of Perugia he showed his good sense by advising the faithful to take part in municipal elections, and he has lately signalized himself by firmly resisting all attempts to remove the Conclave from Rome. He is reported to be a man of learning and culture—even with some poetical pretensions—as well as of unquestioned piety, and he has a dignified presence and bearing. An eyewitness describes him as tall and thin, with aristocratic features bearing some resemblance both to Voltaire and Richelieu, and a slightly nasal but full and resonant voice. That his election is generally acceptable to the Roman people, as well as to the Italian Government, there seems to be no doubt, and if it be true that he is not acceptable to the Jesuits, that is certainly no argument against him. But an abundant experience proves how little the future policy and career of a newly created Pope can be inferred from his antecedents. Even a Jesuit General (Oliva) observes on the deteriorating effect of elevation to so absolute a power, which no one can desire for a good man or expect the best man to bear without grave moral injury. Meanwhile the only anticipations we ventured ourselves to hazard as to the election have been fulfilled; it has been guided by purely ecclesiastical considerations, and it has fallen on an Italian. It will be well for himself, and for the vast communion over whose fortunes he is called to preside, if Leo XIII. should fulfil the somewhat enthusiastic prediction of the *Times*' Correspondent, by proving himself "the best of all possible Popes."

#### PRIMITIVE HUMOUR.

THE origin and history of the sense of humour is a topic that may be recommended to philosophers when they have discovered, as they seem likely soon to do, half a dozen different origins of each of our other institutions, habits, and instincts. Perhaps the inquiry may prove less difficult than some other researches of the same kind really are, though some students seem to find them very easy. The further back you trace wit, the more gross and palpable it is, till it takes the shape of a personal assault with violence. There are some later forms of verbal fun which still exist, in the condition of puns, conundrums, and what are called "sells," which seem to be of very great antiquity. M. Eugène Rolland has lately published a collection of popular japes, *Devinettes ou Enigmes populaires* (Vieweg, Paris), which illustrates the readiness of our ancestors to be amused. The jokes which peasants retain now were once, no doubt, popular in the highest circles of Aryan and Semitic society. Every one remembers how Samson, who afterwards became a Judge, "put forth a riddle" unto the children of his wife's people—"Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness. And they could not in three days expound the riddle." The instance of the Sphinx is also notorious, and the conundrum of the Sphinx, like the riddle of Samson, was precisely a *devinette*. It had all the characteristics of the popular puzzles which amuse the country people in remote

parts of Germany, France, England, and, not to make too long a list, the Transvaal.

M. Gaston Paris, in an interesting notice prefixed to M. Rolland's collection of quibbles, shows how universal the taste for conundrums is, and has been, and how nearly the jests of one race resemble those of the most distant peoples. Some people may have forgotten the not very delicate question which Homer was unable to solve, and thereupon died, so the legend says, of mortification. The fishers of Ios put to the wandering minstrel this problem:—

ὅσσ' ἔλογεν λιπόμεσθα, ὅς οὐκ ἔλογεν φερόμεσθα.

Every traveller in modern Greece ought to be able to divine what animals were the object of the hunt, capture, and slaughter indicated by the lively fishers of Ios. Homer "gave it up," and his life at the same moment, out of pure bewilderment. Symposius, in the sixth century of our era, put this fine riddle into Latin verse, and Pierre Grognet did it into old French:—

Ce que je prens je pers et tiens,  
Ce qui s'enfuyt ay et tiens.

We have noticed the conundrum lately in a long and dull Breton nursery tale, and it occurs in modern French, in German, and in Gascon. There is another and more ingenious *devinette*, which has a long pedigree and a wide popularity. Here is the Scotch version:—

The robbers came to our house  
When we were a' in;  
The house lap out of the windows,  
And we were a' taen.

Here "we" are fishes, the "house" is the water, and the "windows" are the interstices of the net. The French version in the district of Seine-et-Oise runs thus:—

Je vas, je viens dans ma maison,  
On vient pour me prendre,  
Ma maison se sauve par les fenêtres,  
Et moi, je reste en prison.

One can easily imagine that some Quentin Durward heard this excellent joke repeated in France when he was one of the King's Archers, and that he took it home with him in his old age, and added it to the native store of wit. Perhaps, again, it was one of the French allies settled in country quarters near Edinburgh in the days of the Ancient League who expounded the rebus to his Scotch friends by the aid, no doubt, of diagrams. The constant intercourse between Scotland and France might be made to explain the many coincidences in the ballads and stories of the two countries. It is not much more difficult to see how the enigma found its way into old Alsatian. When we find it in Russian, the problem of its origin becomes more complicated. The Russians retain a line which people more remote from primitive imagination have lost. "The house was loud, the folk were mute," the Slavonic riddle begins, and ends like those which we have quoted. The contrast between the noiseless herds of the sea and the murmur or roar of their watery dwelling is fine in its style. Probably the riddle may yet be found among the Chinese or the negroes, for many of the simpler japes of this sort seem common to all humanity.

The Wolofs are a jocular yet simple race who inhabit Senegal, and whom the Abbé Boilat has been fortunate enough to know at home. "In the evening," he says, "by the moonlight or fire-light, the Wolofs ask each other riddles, among peals of laughter. . . . Every man sets a conundrum in his turn, and when any one answers, the others cry, 'Wenc neu deug,' which means, he has told the truth." The Wolof way of saying "I give it up," is to grasp the chin, and cry, "In the name of the God of Truth." We are not likely to find more primitive jokers than the Wolofs. This is the sort of question that amuses them:—"What flies for ever, and rests never?" Does the reader grasp his chin? It is the wind. "What runs long in the sun and casts no shadow?" The road. "Who are the comrades that fight all day and don't hurt each other?" The tongue and the teeth. The Basutos ask, "What is it that has no wings, nor legs, and yet flies fast, and is not stopped by rocks, rivers, or walls?" The voice. One can only envy the light-hearted Wolofs and gay Basutos who chuckle over these early epigrams. The interesting thing is the fact that our own peasants and the country people in other European countries, our more polished ancestors too, if we are to judge them by their jest-books, were or are on the intellectual level of Wolofs, as far as fun goes. There is somewhat elementary and elemental in the riddles collected by M. Rolland. When they were first propounded, the human mind must just have awakened to the knowledge of the fact that there are analogies in nature. Only a few very witty persons had discovered that there may be metaphors and similes, and that human relations may be predicated of inanimate things, in jest or earnest. When people were in earnest they constructed poetry, a poetical jargon, and perhaps some myths. When they were in jest, they made riddles by the same process, and out of the same materials. Thus the *Recueil de Culembours* has this capital joke:—

Un père a douze fils, chacun d'eux en a trente,  
Moitié blancs, moitié noirs?  
L'an, les mois, les jours, les nuits.

What can be more elemental? It is as simple as the myth of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as explained by a learned Dutchman and an impulsive young Hungarian student. Again, "What runs faster than a horse, crosses water, and is not wet?" The sun. Does not this sound like the very earliest metaphorical thought of primitive man? The humour of the Wolofs does not rest on more

simple combinations of ideas. The old Alsations have the same puzzle, the Moravians (not the religious sect) revel in it, the honest Germans never tire of it. "Qui peut passer en face du soleil sans faire ombre? Le vent." This problem is of Norman origin, and when the first Norman wag thought out the riddle, he must have been in the mental condition of a Zulu. In a collection called *Polissoniana*, the wit asks, "What is the hair of the earth, and what is the comb that combs it? The grass is the hair, and the wind is the comb." On the coast of Senegambia the natives ask, "Who has his hair in disorder, and asks God to comb it?" The answer is, *le roncher*, a kind of palm-tree, *ψήκομος*, as Homer says.

When the stars, the sun, and the wind do not furnish the early wit with topics, he falls back on periphrastic statements about other ordinary objects of everyday life. The old Northern style of poetry, in which it is a point of honour to call nothing by its proper name, might have sprung from minds that liked these riddles. The sea, in the Northern lyrics, is the swan's bath, gold is the serpent's hoard, the ship is the sea-horse, and so forth. The same sort of taste shows itself in the poems of Hesiod. Reverse the process, cease to call the ship the sea-horse, and ask what is the horse that carries men over the sea, and you have the primitive riddle. They are often as easy as the riddles for hot weather suggested by the hero of *Happy Thoughts*—my first is a boot, my second is a fish; but these mild diversions suit unsophisticated people—the Eskimo, for example—even in cold weather. Thus the humorists of Morbihan revel in our old nursery riddle, "Two legs sat upon three legs," and the rest. The old Alsations were alive to this jest, the wits of the Netherlands are tickled by it. "Tweevoet lag op den Dryvoet," they say in their honest dialect, to which one's heart warms, it is so thoroughly Teutonic. The jokes about eggs are extraordinarily dull. Here is an enigma from Auvergne; a pig driver as primitive as Eumæus may have invented it:—

Pendillu pendillava  
Barbillu le veillava;  
Pendillu tumbait  
Barbillu le massait.

Pendillu is an acorn; Barbillu is a porker. Here surely we have the very germ of the riddle. In Languedoc they have refined on it and spoiled it. In German patois

Hucke-pucke henk  
Hucke-pucke fel

reminds one of our old friend Humpty Dumpty who sat on a wall, and whose catastrophe is fresh in every memory. The people of Moravia know this jape well, and it was probably current in Ithaca in the time of the much-enduring Odysseus. There are a good many Biblical conundrums, quite reverent in tone, and proper to be asked on Sundays when young people are walking home from church. There are a few riddles about the clergy. Here is one which has a Scottish equivalent, unknown to M. Rolland:—

Trois moines passoient,  
Trois poires pendoient,  
Chascun en prist une  
Et s'en demoura deux.

This is explained by the fact that one of the monks was named Chascun. The Scottish riddle is not less ingenious and humorous:—

The Bishop and the priest  
And Sir John Lang  
Went into the garden,  
Where three pears hang.

Each took one, and two were left. The thing ceases to be puzzling when we learn that Sir John, a pluralist, was a bishop, and, *a fortiori*, a priest.

A very pleasing riddle asks "Who is glad to come to the gibbet?" The answer is, the belated traveller, for he knows that now he is near a town. This may be the germ of the anecdote about the shipwrecked mariner who thanked heaven when he saw the gallows on the shore where he was cast, "for now," said he, "I am got among a Christian people." Substituting a stake for a gibbet, and true believers for Christians, this fine old story is probably to be found in the Turkish Joe Miller. The character of early quibbling cannot be better illustrated than by the story of the trick Odysseus played on the Cyclops when he gave "No man" as his name. Few races are so dull but that they have this jest. Another example may be less familiar. When Odysseus, in the Twenty-fourth Book of the *Odyssey*, meets his old father, he gives a punning account of himself:—

Εἰμὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅθι κλυτὰ δώματα ναῶν,  
Υἱὸς Ἀφειδαῖος Πολυπημονίδας ἀνακτος,  
Αὐτὰρ ἔμογ' ὄνομ' ἔστιν Ἐπήριος.

This is like the story Frithiof the Bold had to tell when he was in hiding:—"In Grief-ham I grew up, but heart drove me hither, and home have I nowhere. . . . with Wolf I was last night." There is more refined fancy in this conundrum from Lorraine:—"Où se trouve le pape quand le soleil est couché? A l'ombre." It is easy to see why British Protestant humour has preferred a Biblical hero, and has substituted Moses and the candle for the Pope and the sun. Few studies prove more emphatically that there is such a thing as progress than the study of primitive humour.



## LESSONS OF THE WAR.

THE war having terminated, the question now for the military world is, What are its teachings? Every army in Europe is, we may presume, preparing an answer. But all do not look at the question from the same point of view. The Prussian Staff, strong in its experience of modern war, and having control of a machine ever in process of adjustment and improvement, can afford to take a calm retrospective survey of the late sanguinary and chaotic scramble. Those who may yet in England be under the delusion that for us the most essential thing is to increase the numerical strength of our forces would do well to study carefully two articles which have recently appeared in the *Times* under the heading "Uses for the Six Millions." It cannot, indeed, be said that even as regards the numbers of our regular army and its reserve we are in a satisfactory condition; but what is even more imperatively and instantly needed is the machinery for setting in motion the troops already at our hand. The writer of the above-mentioned articles puts the case clearly when he says that Germany or France entering on a war to-morrow would require money to set their forces in motion; we, on the other hand, need money to secure the indispensable machinery before any considerable body could be started. England has had no experience but as a spectator of war as fought nowadays. Intelligent officers have indeed been sent to observe and report upon the conduct of the various campaigns; but the Staff, as a rule, have seen nothing of modern war. We are separated from the Crimean method of fighting, not by twenty-five years only, but by all the distance between an antiquated and a novel system of warfare. In those twenty-five years has been compressed, without any exaggeration, the ordinary progress of centuries. Since the Crimean epoch the tactics of each arm of the service have been transformed. The functions of each arm have been greatly amplified. The old drill formation, manœuvres, mode of attack and defence by infantry, the ponderous mass employment of cavalry, the conventional figuring of artillery, are now only to be found in historical records, shelved for ever in libraries, as "Brown Bess" and the first rifles are shelved in museums.

To attentive spectators of what has been going on in the military world of the Continent and America our own action has been a strange medley of progress and conservatism. Our authorities are certainly not chargeable with precipitancy in the adoption of important changes. They have been forward indeed to take certain steps which were obviously in the right direction. The army has been supplied with a rifle superior to any other. They have laid the groundwork of an Intelligence Department. The Staff College turns out yearly as highly educated a body of officers as can be found elsewhere. The framework of several *corps d'armée* has been sketched and partly pieced. If we went suddenly to war, men, if not things, would be more or less in their right places, because those places are now defined. But, while a good deal has been done, very much has been left undone; and for no intelligible reason, unless it is money that was not forthcoming. We do not blame the military authorities. In every public speech for a long time past the head of the army has been vainly pleading for more money. He has repeatedly said, "We know our shortcomings, but can do nothing till the nation gets to believe that we must have the means before we can make them good." It is difficult—nay, impossible—to induce the popular mind to apprehend the truth and force of this when there is no evident cloud of danger ready to burst. In reply to the soldier's appeal for more money, the taxpayer holds triumphantly aloft an Army List swollen to twice its original size, and says, "You have got all this, and we give you fifteen millions a year to keep it going." It would be all in vain for the soldier to plead that the "bloated Army List" is a species of old military curiosity shop, where a vast number of the wares exposed are simply exhibited as pious memorials of a nation's gratitude, and from whose shelves many quaint, old-fashioned persons would be exceedingly startled were they withdrawn to take a share in the warfare of to-day. But it is not quite certain that the money actually got is always put to the best uses. We have been very much occupied of late in devising a suitable headdress for our infantry; and, when the army is clamouring for spades and picks, it is presented with a new toy in the shape of a helmet.

The question at this moment is not whether we have been spending five, ten, fifteen, or twenty millions annually on our army, but whether we have an army of respectable dimensions in readiness to take the field. And such readiness implies necessarily the existence, and also the organization, of adequate transport. Now, as a matter of fact, we do not possess anything like sufficient transport. If we had the carriages, we have not the horses. "Ammunition columns," says the writer we have already referred to "are of vital importance to an army. There cannot be two opinions on this point; and it is almost incredible that there is not a single ammunition column in the whole army, nor even the nucleus of one. The same may be said of bakeries, butcheries, bridge trains, telegraphs, ambulances, and various other services." There is no disguising the truth therefore that our army is not prepared for war as war is understood abroad; and though much might be done by lavish expenditure and good will on the spur of the moment, nevertheless that cannot satisfactorily supply the absence of previous study of necessary requirements, or create a disciplined organization in an hour of urgent danger.

Each campaign fought since that in the Crimea has furnished a special lesson for our edification. As we said above we have partly profited, and partly neglected to profit, by such experiences.

The Crimean war exhibited our faulty organization and the national unreadiness for sudden emergencies. The contest in Schleswig-Holstein showed us a Power whose armies bore a weapon which would have swept our lines and columns from the field had they met them in fight. The Civil War in America taught, or should have taught, us the extreme value of entrenchments on the battle-ground. Solferino disclosed the power of rifled artillery. The Seven Days' war in Germany exhibited the enormous advantages to be derived from thorough and intelligent training, not only of officers but soldiers. We were shown a machine on which the thought, labour, money of years had been expended, and not expended at random, but with system. Of course all this toil and expenditure had its meet reward. The Franco-German war came next; and the Prussians, having discovered in the preceding campaign that their artillery was scarcely up to the mark, had in the meanwhile taken pains to improve it, so that when they fought the French their artillery was almost as superior to that of their foes as the needle-rifle had been to the muzzle-loader of the Austrians. Moreover, when it seemed to many that the day for the employment of a numerous cavalry had gone by, the Germans suddenly showed that this arm, rightly used, had acquired under changed conditions even wider importance than formerly. Then we come to the contest just terminated. It is, we think, very necessary to use caution in accepting any sweeping conclusions. The history of the war has yet to be written. We should like to wait for the evidence of Baker Pasha and other British officers who bore a part in it, before we accept the teachings of a writer in the *Standard* on "Lessons of the War." He speaks of the "decreased value of artillery," and says that "much of the indisposition to employ cavalry by the Russians must be ascribed to respect for the power of the breechloader," and he bids us believe that "men with stout hearts and good rifles, even if they are but roughly drilled, can be trusted to hold their own." And he adds, "The use of earthworks enables less highly drilled infantry and less perfectly trained artillery to do as good work as older and more perfectly disciplined troops." Again, "Our Volunteers are as far ahead in drill and discipline of the Turkish troops, whose conduct has astonished the world, as our regiments of Guards are ahead of our Militia, and, with the advantage of shelter-trenches, might be trusted to defend a position against the best troops in Europe." He says also, "The bayonet is an obsolete weapon. We might as well insist on carrying daggers or shields."

We have not space to argue these points at length; but we must make some remarks upon the above teaching, as the articles embodying it have attracted a certain amount of attention. First of all it is to be observed that the late contest was of an exceptional nature. If Germans, Austrians, Italians, French, English were to engage now in a struggle—any one or more of these—it may be presumed that neither the strategy nor the tactics employed would bear much resemblance to what has been seen lately. Is this because some great discovery has been made which will change the whole complexion of future wars? Not at all. It is simply that no good general would imitate the strategy or the offensive tactics of either Russians or Turks. Does any one suppose that a Prussian leader—a Blumenthal, a Werder, a Manteuffel—would so order his combinations as continually to bring his troops face to face with almost insurmountable obstacles, and would then hurl his masses against these after the fashion of the Plevna assaults? Would great bodies of cavalry, to which an enemy has nothing to oppose, be helplessly grouped about headquarters when the foe's communications lie open to attack? Again, is it not an axiom since the Franco-German war that guns should be advanced, not kept in the background, and that guns and rifles should combine for mutual support? In considering the late campaign, it is not necessary to suppose that Russian officers could not as well as others devise excellent strategical combinations; but conception is not all—there remains execution; and good strategy means due calculation of time and distance, with apportionment of means to the end in view. The tactical disadvantages under which the Russians fought were largely owing to the initial mistake of miscalculation of means, as well as of Turkish capacity for resistance. Every department in the army was short-handed. Hence ensued delay. The Transport department broke down; hence the slow marches and easy stages, especially at the most important period of the campaign—its outset. If the Franco-German war taught one lesson more than another, it was the vast advantage of taking the initiative in force; and how is that possible when the materials of war are rusty from disuse, shelved in forgotten corners, or absolutely non-existent?

When Russian strategy ended by bringing the troops everywhere face to face with earthworks—on the Lom, at Plevna, and in Armenia—it was still open to the leaders to attack those works in scientific fashion. Instead of this, the tactics of a bygone era were resorted to. Even in the battle at Tashkesen, towards the close of the campaign, we learn from Captain Burnaby, himself an eye-witness, that the Russian infantry was thrown in masses on the enemy's breastworks, with repulse and immense losses as the inevitable consequence. On one single occasion, so far as we know, were the Turkish entrenchments assaulted on what may be called the Prussian principle, and that assault, under General Skobelev's inspiration, met with success. Guns were brought up close to shell the defenders, while the infantry was so formed that there was always a reserve to support the preceding section of stormers. The Turks were overwhelmed by successive waves of attack. But at other points, and in nearly every engagement both in Asia and Europe, the brave Russian soldiers were led, according to competent testimony, like sheep to the slaughter.

There is no need to occupy the reader's attention by a disquisition on the strategy of the Turks. Fortunate indeed was it for the Russians that the strategy of their foes was not on a par with their defensive tactics. For the latter were exactly calculated to meet with success as against the particular enemy encountered. And now let us say a few words on the great question of battle-field entrenchments. From some of the arguments lately employed one would suppose it was a new question. The truth is that it has not been sufficiently studied, not even by the Germans, as will appear from a perusal of the Prussian General Hanneken's essay on the subject. It would be only reasonable to infer that, with the introduction of breechloaders, the value of earthworks will be increased. But, before these came into use, the greatest advantage accrued to the defenders from the construction of entrenchments on a battle-ground. In a lecture at our United Service Institution, delivered after the American Civil War by the United States General Morris, occurs the following passage:—"During the more recent campaigns, breastworks were thrown up at every general halt; these were found of such important service, that they have become a part of the general system in the management of an army. They gave such strength to positions that no general would attack troops behind works, even though slight, if there were any way in which they could be turned. . . . At the battle of Franklin, Hood's army threw itself upon Schofield's, which was entrenched, with the utmost bravery and devotion; yet his killed and wounded were piled up in front of the works in such vast numbers that his army was virtually destroyed in the attempt to break lines strengthened by entrenchments." Flying straight in the face of such experience, the adoption of "bayonet tactics" was loudly advocated in Austrian military circles during the war of 1866 as the proper reply to the Prussian breechloader; and though redoubts were occasionally thrown up as at Gitschin and Königgratz, many of them remained unarmed; and, as Major Adams remarks, "these never could answer the purpose of the successive continuous lines invariably used by experienced American generals."

Are we now to conclude that volunteers and indifferently trained recruits are capable of superseding highly disciplined and skilfully instructed troops in a campaign because entrenchments will be more generally used than formerly? If so, then the teaching of the Franco-German is reversed by that of the Turco-Russian war; for the first showed us the extreme value of scientific and intelligent training. Nothing was made more clear in the progress of the campaign after the annihilation of the French regular army than that the huge levies substituted were utterly unable, with or without entrenchments, to make effectual stand against the trained troops opposed to them. One reason of this was that they were incapable of manœuvring; and, being so, they were ousted from successive prepared positions by combined fighting and manœuvring. The Germans never willingly ran their heads against stone walls. Their method of driving out the defenders of strong positions is to keep the attention of these occupied on the strong face, and meanwhile to operate by a turning movement on the assailable side or on the line of supply. When, however, entrenchments protect a position flank, face, and rear, as at Plevna, and the army holding it is well provisioned and munitioned, the circumstances are exceptional. In the first place, such positions are not commonly met with; then it is not always that an army would be allowed time to fortify itself so securely, and especially to find time to lay in provisions for a long investment. Where this is the case the operations will resemble those against any other entrenched camp or fortress. Of course an army holding such a position as that at Plevna would be a formidable obstacle in the path of any invader; but, after all, the safety of such army will depend on its being able to keep up its communications with its base, or on the capacity of other forces to beat off the enemy and relieve it some time or other. The fact of an army shutting itself up indefinitely in a Plevna proves its inability to go out and meet the enemy. That side which can only fight on the defensive is certain to lose in the end. We would ask, then, what advantage is to be gained by entrusting our safety to half-trained troops who may be able enough to repel with their breechloaders any assaults on their lines, but who would be incapable of moving out to manœuvre in a difficult country against trained armies and skilful generals? Does any one suppose that our Volunteers and Militia—admirably as they would fight—could be entrusted with the defence of a line of battle against German generals who would endeavour to manœuvre them out of it? Could our men be trusted for counter-manœuvring? All experience but that of the late war would suggest a negative answer. And we have seen in that war that the Russians attacked entrenchments in an unskilful manner, while neither side committed itself to manœuvre. Moreover, when the Turkish regular army was beaten, the new levies, bravely as they fought, were no match for the Russian regulars. These latter had also been acquiring experience; and in one or two of the later battles they won as much by manœuvring as by fighting. We would remark, also, that if a position has to be defended against good generals and troops, it must have not only earthworks thrown up at random, but scientifically chosen and constructed works. And the defenders must know how to meet the advancing parallels of the enemy, to mine and countermine, to deliver counter assaults, &c., &c. But all this, and more, is trained soldier's work; and the Turco-Russian war, while it shows how the use of entrenchments may receive development, how terrible is the fire of the breechloader, and what enormous losses must be

suffered even at the hands of untrained levies in assault—especially unskilful assault—on earthworks, shows also the imperative need of skilful officers and trained intelligent men for the conduct of the business of war, which is always tending to become more, not less, complicated. Much as we admire our Volunteers, surely it were false teaching to tell them that, since every day the art of war becomes more difficult, and its experience more terrible, the necessity for accurate training and a rigid enforced discipline becomes less.

It is curious that a proposal to deprive the infantry soldier of his bayonet should be advocated after a war which has seen more actual bayonet contact than preceding ones. During the entire American struggle there were on the side of the Northerners but one hundred and forty-three authenticated cases of bayonet wounds. The late war shows that in a contest for possession of villages and earthworks, when both sides fight with equal desperation, the mutual desire to close will not be balked. But of course the value of the bayonet consists in its moral effect; and we are very sceptical as to the probability of any troops standing firm who can only use clubbed rifles, and who may suddenly be closely confronted with others having bayonets.

Summing up, we should say that the following lessons are taught us by what has been lately witnessed:—First, the imperative necessity of possessing an army prepared at all points for war to-morrow. The Russians had not such an army. Secondly, the necessity of having trained officers and soldiers thoroughly instructed, not only in drill and manœuvre, but in the art of utilizing ground. The Russians, officers and men, employed tactics of a bygone day. Thirdly, the danger of trusting to half-trained levies except where these are behind entrenchments, and where the position cannot be turned or their communications threatened; and such positions are very rarely found. Fourthly, the signal advantage to be derived from the use of entrenchments in almost every position of war, both for the attacking and defending side. Fifthly, the advisableness of throwing up temporary protection for guns against infantry fire, and of aiming always at securing for attack a combination of artillery with rifle fire. Sixthly, now that cavalry have other duties than ranging themselves in embattled squadrons watching an opportunity for charging—and consequently that the axiom no longer has the same force that mounted infantry make bad cavalry and indifferent infantry—that there are circumstances when mounted infantry may render the greatest service. The Shipka Pass was saved to the Russians through the arrival of foot soldiers mounted on cavalry horses. And, finally, it should be borne in mind that we have been watching unskilful workmen playing with edged tools.

Had we listened with more attention to the teachings of the wars which have thundered in our ears at intervals during the last twenty years, we should have had by this time an organization, not mapped out, but filled in; an army not only ready to fight, but prepared for a campaign; and, instead of devising a helmet in lieu of a chako for our soldiers, we should have been more profitably employed in providing them with picks and spades, teaching them how to throw up earthworks, and the best method of attacking them.

#### MODERN YACHTING.

LIKE other amusements, yachting has altered much within the last twenty-five years. Steam power has become comparatively common, and the size of yachts has very greatly increased. In 1877 a writer describing the launch of the late Baroness Rothschild's vessel, the *Czarina*, at Gosport, pointed out that her tonnage was not far inferior to that of some of the frigates which in the time of the old war were launched in the same waters. The *Czarina*, it is true, is exceptional, being the largest sailing yacht afloat; but even her tonnage is surpassed by that of one steam yacht, and there are many craft now belonging to the pleasure-fleet as much beyond the yachts of former days as the *Inconstant* is beyond the *Raleigh* and *Arethusa* of thirty years ago. Thus, besides the *Chazalie* of 600 tons, already alluded to as exceeding the *Czarina* in size, there are Mr. Brassey's well-known yacht the *Sunbeam*, of 465 tons, several full-power steamers of over four hundred tons, and two, the *Pandora*—not to be confounded with the Arctic *Pandora*—and the *Zingara*, of 506 and 535 tons respectively; while an auxiliary screw-steamer of about the same tonnage as the first of these is now being built in the North. The two-masted vessels are necessarily smaller than these large craft; but there are some amongst them which would have seemed huge indeed to the yachtsmen of a past generation. The *Boudicca*, of 378, and the *Elmina*, of 350 tons, which were launched in 1874, have been followed by the *Lyra*, the *Fortuna*, and the *Cruiser*, and by the *Golden Eagle* and *Surprise*, the last two being admirable specimens of what is perhaps the most perfect type of modern yachts, the full-rigged vessel with auxiliary steam power. Other schooners approaching these in size might be mentioned, but those already named show the dimensions which pleasure craft have in our time attained. It may be considered perhaps that the existence of so many big yachts is merely one of the numerous unhealthy signs of the luxury to which Englishmen are now thought to be much given; but the reflection, though a natural, would not be a just, one. The largest and best fitted yacht is cramped and uncomfortable when compared with even a moderate house, as may be seen by contrasting the accommodation offered by each. A sleeping cabin ten feet square, for instance, would be deemed very luxurious on board ship, but on shore the



most submissive governess would think herself much ill used if a bedroom of the same dimensions were offered her. People who have been accustomed to large dwelling-houses, and who have not by early habit become inured to the discomforts of sea life, cannot be called over fond of their ease if they prefer big vessels when they go afloat; and the ladies who now possess yachts are certainly not to be wondered at for liking large craft, but rather to be much admired for being willing to undergo the trials which, whatever the size of their vessels, the sea is sure to inflict on them. Even if it were admitted, with regard to yachtsmen, that some of them desire more luxury than can fairly be expected off dry land, it would be easy to point to many who are, to say the very least, as bold and hardy as their predecessors, and to some who have acquired a knowledge of seamanship and navigation far greater than any which the men of former days either hoped or tried to attain.

With racing as with cruising yachts the size has increased, though not of course to the same extent; and here it may be doubted whether the larger vessels are as well suited as the smaller ones were for the work which has to be done, or whether the finest contests are those in which the big racing craft take part. Many of these are too large for the narrow waters and short courses in which they have to contend; and, without derogating from the just admiration which is often felt for the manner in which the big schooners and yawls are handled, it must be said that they sometimes seem out of place in the comparatively puny matches in which they take part. The sight of large and powerful vessels racing in a gentle breeze in the Solent is apt to produce much the same impression as would result from seeing rival fairs in the Serpentine. Of course there are matches well suited for these craft; but the opinion, very common amongst yachtsmen, that the finest races are those of the forty-ton cutters, shows that to many well qualified to judge the struggles of the big yachts often seem, as compared with those of smaller vessels, decidedly tame. The fact, however, that such large vessels are now built for cruising and for racing, coupled with the very pertinent fact that the cost of constructing and of maintaining yachts has of late years considerably increased, shows how strong a hold the liking for the sea still has on Englishmen, and how much attached they are to the pursuit which they originated. Yachtsmen not only spend large sums of money on their vessels, but they do what with many is a much harder thing than giving money—they devote a great deal of time and trouble to mastering, in part at least, a difficult calling. Among the owners of the small craft many are to be found who, from long practice persevered in with absolute indifference to discomfort, have become, if not as well able to handle their vessels as those who have been bred to a sea life, at all events but little behind them in nautical skill. The proprietors of the larger yachts take their pleasure on the sea, but not being, as a rule, animated by the same enthusiastic energy as those who sail the smaller vessels, are not inclined to give themselves so much trouble; and indeed are under no necessity for doing so, having usually a fairly competent captain. But even amongst the proprietors of the big vessels some are to be found who have been at no small pains to learn a sailor's work. A few years ago the Board of Trade instituted a special examination for yacht-owners who desired to show that they were capable of commanding their own vessels; and a considerable number of yachtsmen have successfully passed this examination, which, it should be observed, is anything but a nominal one, requiring a real knowledge of navigation, and of seamanship so far as the handling of fore and aft vessels is concerned. In the list of those who have obtained certificates the names of the owners of large vessels are not wanting. Indeed, the first to brave the examination was a gentleman whose yacht is one of the largest afloat. It will be seen, then, that yachting is not merely the idle amusement of rich people much troubled to find out how to spend their days, but that in some cases those who devote themselves to it strive with considerable success to master a portion of the knowledge which the commander of a vessel ought to possess.

It need hardly be said that a pursuit which has such charms for wealthy and occasionally for energetic people has attracted some writers who have endeavoured to instruct the yachtsman in what he desires to understand, and to describe the pleasures of racing and cruising. The literature of yachting, however, is by no means extensive; but this is not to be regretted, as much of it is but very poor stuff. The best known writer on this subject was the late Mr. Cooper, who certainly was very well acquainted with it; but he was terribly diffuse, and his frequent attempts to be funny shared the usual fate of such efforts against nature, and resulted in almost indescribable dullness. Our own days have seen the production of a work of a very different order from anything Mr. Cooper wrote—to wit, an elaborate treatise on yacht-designing, which is undoubtedly of great value, and has been compiled with extreme care, but is perhaps somewhat abstruse for the ordinary nautical reader. Less formidable than this erudite work to those not versed in mathematics are some well-considered papers on yacht and boat-sailing, marked by singular clearness and a thorough knowledge of the subject treated, which have during the last nine or ten months appeared in the *Field*. The writer, it is true, amidst much valuable information, gives some that is superfluous, as he cannot resist the temptation of encouraging the fancy of yachtsmen for dabbling in problems connected with ships about which the professional sailor does not trouble himself, and of which half knowledge is worse than no knowledge

at all. When, for instance, the author of these excellent articles says regretfully that, though a sailing-master knows what to do if his vessel carries too much weather-helm, or how a want of stiffness may be remedied, he would be much puzzled if he were told to shorten the arm of the couple which represents the force that is turning the vessel's head to the wind, or to lengthen the arm of the couple upon which the statical stability of the vessel depends, it is impossible not to feel that the seaman who has paid no attention to these theoretical considerations is right, and that the amateur who devotes his time to them is wrong: inasmuch as time will be much better spent in learning practically how to handle his yacht than in examining mathematical expressions of forces a knowledge of which is not in the very least degree necessary for the proper management of a vessel. In fact, the amateur who troubles himself about these matters is endeavouring to do more than the man who is a sailor by trade does in his own calling. The latter, though he begins very young and devotes all his energies to the work, finds that it is quite hard enough to acquire a practical knowledge of seamanship, and does not endeavour to master problems a knowledge of which is not needful to him. What do the excellent captains who every year show such admirable skill in handling the yachts they command in narrow and crowded waters know about centres of effort, centres of lateral resistance, or the righting arm of the lever? Do men who navigate larger vessels concern themselves much about these things? and is it likely that the amateur who begins to study seamanship comparatively late in life, and does not give his whole time to it, will profitably employ himself in acquiring knowledge which the seaman by profession regards as superfluous? A sailor does not pretend to a naval architect's knowledge of the mathematical questions connected with the motion and resistance of ships, any more than a naval architect considers himself qualified to command a vessel on a voyage. The yacht-owner who, in order to understand the cutter or schooner in which he sails for three or four months in the year, plunges into the abstruse matters which have been mentioned, is likely to get but a sorry result for his pains. He will find his time much more profitably and quite fully occupied in learning seamanship and acquiring some power of taking observations. When he is a good sailor and a competent observer he may turn his attention to the calculations of the naval architect. It will be some time before he undertakes this branch of study.

The writer in the *Field* does not, however, touch otherwise than lightly on these questions, a full exposition of which will be found by those who are determined to master them in the work on yacht-designing which has been mentioned. He devotes himself principally to giving a clear and practical account of the construction and rigging of yachts and boats; and so thoroughly are these subjects treated by him that none but persons with very considerable knowledge of them are likely to read his papers without learning something from them. The sound advice on the buying and examination of a yacht is likely to be of service to many, and not a few who are interested in yachting will be grateful to the writer for his staunch advocacy of the time-honoured cutter rig which has been of late so much abandoned for the reduced mainsail and lug mizen of the yawl. The observations made as to the rigs best suited to yachts of various sizes are extremely valuable; but on one point it is difficult to agree with the author of these papers, who appears to share a prejudice common amongst yachtsmen. Speaking of vessels of 300 tons or more, he says, very justly, that such large craft should have three masts, but he disapproves apparently of their being square rigged on the foremast, as has been recommended by some seamen. No doubt the fore and aft rig has, in the eyes of those who have to do with yachts, a special sacredness, and they can rarely be induced to depart from it; but it should be remembered that the strong preference for this rig comes from a time when those vessels were much smaller than they are now, and were principally intended for coast work. Then the exclusive devotion to fore and aft sails was reasonable enough; but now things have altered greatly. As has been shown, very large yachts are now built, and are occasionally intended, it may be presumed, for long voyages, and to adhere obstinately in these vessels to the fore and aft rig is like giving a full-grown man the clothes of a lad. No naval officer or merchant captain would dream of rigging a vessel of the size of some modern yachts without any standing square-sails; and the practice of seamen in this respect is more likely to be right than the arbitrary tradition of yachtsmen. Perhaps the best rig for very large yachts would be that adopted for the *Czarina*—full square-rig on the foremast, and fore and aft rig on the main and mizen; a method of proportioning the different kinds of sails very popular amongst American seamen, and said to produce admirable results. For big two-masted yachts surely it might be well to try sometimes the brigantine rig, which is one of the prettiest ever seen on the waters, and gives great facilities for handling a vessel.

#### THE QUARTIER LATIN.

THERE are few young Englishmen—at least amongst that increasing minority who have a smattering of other tongues beside their own—to whom the works of Henry Murger have not at one time or another appeared in the light of a revelation. How humdrum and prosaic seems the life of an English undergraduate

compared with the joyous freedom of the *vie de Bohème*! That is indeed a life. What noble stoicism, what delightful poverty, what splendid disregard of one's duty to one's self or to one's neighbour, what unblushing effrontery, what shameless mendacity—above all, what heroic contempt for all laws human or divine! The manly English bosom rebels at the thought of dons and proctors, of gates and chapels, and vows that at the earliest opportunity these hateful trammels shall be broken through and a new and glorious existence begun, not in law-abiding England, but in that new paradise still untroubled by the knowledge of good and evil—the Latin Quarter.

These aspirations remain for the most part unfulfilled. The sucking barrister has to eat his dinners, the embryo hero has to join his regiment. The bishop of the future has to preach his ordination sermon before the bishop of the present. The rising merchant has to seek the elevation of a three-legged stool; only in their dreams can they emulate the glorious immorality of Murger's heroes. There is one fortunate calling, however—it is only just beginning to take rank as a profession—which holds out to the bold youth who pursues it a chance of entering the Promised Land. He who has the skill to persuade his parents that he is able to amass a fortune by the pursuit of the Fine Arts can have but small difficulty in persuading them further that only in Paris can this mysterious power be acquired. Surely for such can the dream be fulfilled. But here a doubt suggests itself. Has not the ingenious Frenchman a little overdone the delights of student life? Can such bliss indeed exist? Were Rodolphe, Schaunard, and the rest permitted to pursue their nefarious career with such complete impunity? Were there ever any persons who were so poor, so happy, and so little virtuous? Is there no trustworthy—that is to say, no British—testimony on the point? Surely Thackeray was in his early days an art-student in Paris; we turn with eagerness to the *Paris Sketch-Book* for a record of his experience.

The testimony, such as it is, is entirely negative. We can only gather that he considered the artistic life of Paris profoundly uninteresting from his having said nothing at all about it. Criticism we have of French pictures, of French novels, of French plays, of French governments, sketches of English snobs, adaptations of French stories, imitations of Béranger; but not a word as to his life as a student. With some misgivings caused by this silence, we will pursue our aspirant to his lodging in the Rue Jacob, and see what happens to him there. In the first place, he will go to the École des Beaux-Arts, where he will be placed in an atelier superintended by some great painter whose name he has revered from afar, and from whose teaching he expects a miracle—namely, that he shall acquire the art of painting without taking any trouble about it. It is needless to say that this miracle is not performed, nor, indeed, the lesser one, that the great painter should find time to superintend to any purpose the works of some forty or fifty pupils. The first experiences of a newcomer in a Paris atelier are anything but pleasant. He is expected to fetch fuel for the stove, and perform various other little menial offices. At this he grumbles; but, mindful of his public school experience, at length gives way. Then come various minor annoyances, such as only the perverted ingenuity of the French *rapin* could suggest, which finally culminate in attempts at overt bullying. Here he makes a stand, and being joined by the three or four English and American students in the same atelier, succeeds *vi et armis* in establishing his right to be left unmolested. And here we are incidentally reminded of a point that is well worthy of consideration—namely, the close bond that joins American and English students on the Continent. Those who know how little mutual love there is between tourists of the two nations will hardly believe how naturally they amalgamate as students into one society, with cross friendships and common interests, entirely regardless of the difference of nationality. This affinity is no doubt greatly aided by the possession of a language which, although not absolutely identical, at least serves all purposes of mutual intercourse; for be it noted that the art student finds the acquisition of a foreign language almost as difficult as that of the art of painting.

Guided by these experiences, the youthful painter naturally falls entirely into the little English and American society that holds so strictly aloof from the common enemy. He has his meals at some restaurant which, owing to the badness of the food, is entirely free from native intruders, and which has the additional advantage of providing him at exorbitant prices with that bottled beer which, in conjunction with a resident chaplain, is held out by every Continental hotel as a lure for the British tourist. After a time he gets tired of the atelier. There is a peculiar nastiness about the sayings and doings of the Parisian *rapin* that no English stomach can stand for long, especially if the said stomach has been weakened by a long course of culinary abominations at his favourite restaurant. So he deserts his lodgings and takes a studio with a friend. Now begins the real enjoyment—the unfettered poetry of existence. Two beds are improvised in different corners of the studio; there is one chair with a broken leg to give to visitors, a box and a portmanteau are sufficient seats for the hardy occupants. A cracked jug and basin, an iron stove, two easels, and a piece of ragged tapestry for backgrounds complete the furniture of the apartment. Nor is decoration wanted. The walls are covered by those studies which seem to accumulate in such magical profusion round even the idlest of artists. Any bare corner is filled up with the addresses of models, who display a singular pertinacity in calling when they are not wanted, and a stubborn obstinacy in not coming when they are sent for.

Having established himself luxuriously in his house, the Englishman reverts to his natural instinct and determines to feed at home. A cask of Bass is got in at vast expense; a gridiron and a saucepan are added to the furniture; the friends take it in turns to go out and buy beefsteaks which they cook themselves over the stove. In the evening they have visitors, who bring a pair of boxing-gloves and help to consume the cask of Bass; so with the national beverage and the national sport the day is worthily brought to a close. This is not delirious gaiety, but for a time it is at least happiness of a tranquil order. But soon a certain weariness sets in; painting has not advanced much, models are expensive and have to be abandoned. The sketching of designs for gigantic pictures to be executed in the far-off future begets a certain emptiness, a feeling that there are limits to the resources of human imagination. Painting one's friends, and finally oneself in a borrowed looking-glass, scarcely gratifies the craving for beauty that is so strong in the artistic breast. And then material matters are hardly more satisfactory. It is possible to get tired even of beefsteaks and Bass. Continual exercise in the national pastime begets a certain soreness which blunts the keen edge of its delight; and, above all, the superstitious reverence for cleanliness of which no Englishman entirely divests himself makes the cracked jug and basin appear but a poor substitute for the British tub. So the friends decide that, after all, the study of landscape is the noblest occupation for the human mind. The studio is locked up, and they start for the Forest of Fontainebleau, where all French landscapes are painted. First they make for Grez, where there is a practicable river and a whole fleet of canoes and boats, the product of the leisure moments of former English and American visitors. Here, at last, may be traced some faint resemblance to the life that Murger described so humorously and so eloquently. The grisette is, indeed, dead—if she ever existed—but an artist's model may at a pinch supply her place, and add the elements of romance to the simple boyish pleasures of bathing, boating, and throwing stones at the natives. The hitherto unknown emotions of love and jealousy, hatred and despair, combine to give a delicious piquancy to life. When at last a challenge is actually given and a duel projected, the poetry of existence may be said to have reached its culminating point. The tragedy which might otherwise become too serious to be thoroughly enjoyable is properly tempered by a due infusion of comedy. The mere spectacle of a little society of deadly enemies, all loathing one another's sight, but all held together in the closest intimacy by the impossibility of paying their bill and so leaving the inn, becomes in time irresistibly comic, even to the deadly enemies themselves; and when at last remittances arrive their jealousies are forgotten and their duels postponed, and they tramp across the forest to Barbizon, where, free from the dangerous attractions of boating and flirtation, they hope that at last a little painting may be achieved. Here they are on the very skirts of the Forest, within easy walk of its most picturesque points; and now surely they will do some work. Every morning there starts a little procession, each with his paint-box, easel, camp-stool, and sketching umbrella. Solemnly they march into the Forest, solemnly they diverge on their separate paths to seek for "motives" undisturbed. When they return in the evening, it seems that none of them have found a motive strong enough to induce them to paint. And so they lead an idle, happy life, until want of funds or the remonstrance of parents brings them back again to England and respectability.

Such is the average life pursued by an English art student at Paris; harmless indeed as compared with the poetic license indulged in by Murger's heroes, or indeed with the real life of the Parisian students, which is quite as bad as that of their immortal prototypes, though much less amusing—harmless at least as regards its influence on the moral character. Indeed, the feeling of comradeship engendered, of difficulties shared, of mutual good offices, is often highly beneficial, but it is distinctly ruinous as regards the purpose with which it was undertaken. We may safely say that there is no surer way of preventing a young man from succeeding in the arts than by sending him abroad before he has had time to acquire the habit of hard work.

#### RESOURCES OF THE GREAT POWERS.

IN the present condition of the Continent, when an accident might precipitate a conflict as universal, protracted, and sanguinary as that ushered in by the French Revolution, it will be interesting to inquire what changes have taken place in the relative resources of the Great Powers since the close of the last European struggle by the final abdication of the first Napoleon. Population and wealth, which together constitute the potential strength of a nation, of course do not ensure success in war. Superiority in those respects may be more or less neutralized by an inconvenient configuration of territory, by inefficient organization, by want of military skill, or by disaffection. In the American Civil War, for example, the South was inferior to the North in every element of permanent power, yet the genius of General Lee, availing itself of the higher soldierly aptitudes of the men he led, their habit of command, and their skill in the use of the rifle, prolonged the contest for four years, and during three of these made the issue appear doubtful to foreign observers. In 1866, again, Austria and the South German States possessed a much larger population than Prussia and her allies, and probably also exceeded them in wealth; yet better organization, the needle gun, and the



strategy of Count Moltke expelled Austria from Germany in seven weeks. Lastly, France, in 1870, though somewhat inferior in numbers, was far wealthier than Germany, and formed a united nation; nevertheless she was completely overthrown, dismembered, and held to ransom in a single campaign, because she had neglected to prepare in season. Money and numbers, then, are only the raw material, which prudence and forethought may convert into military strength, but which unorganized are at the mercy of an aggressor. There is this material difference, however, between the three wars to which we have been referring and the war the fear of which has agitated Europe during the past two years; the latter could not be decided so speedily. North and South, Prussia and Austria, Germany and France, were separated from one another only by imaginary lines. Consequently the belligerents could not be prevented from meeting as soon as either side was ready. If we were to engage in a struggle, on the other hand, our enemy could not force us to stake our fortunes on the issue of a single battle. Assuming our naval pre-eminence to be assured, we could choose our point of attack, and, unless the needs of an ally called us to his aid, could take a reasonable time to prepare. Too much reliance upon this advantage would, indeed, be most rash and dangerous. Inability to lend prompt help might lose us invaluable allies, and unreadiness to seize a favourable opportunity for striking a sharp, decisive blow might spin out for a generation a war otherwise capable of being ended quickly, and might thus overwhelm us in debt. Still the advantage exists to be wisely used, and ought not to be overlooked by ourselves, any more than it will be, we may be sure, by possible adversaries.

No census having been taken during the last century, we can form nothing better than estimates of the numbers of the nations that took part in the revolutionary wars. It is believed, however, that the population of Great Britain and Ireland at the beginning of the struggle was about fourteen millions. At the same time a Committee of the Constituent Assembly reported that of France to exceed twenty-six millions. The population of Austria was probably not much less, and that of Russia in Europe may be taken roughly at forty millions. Thus two of the Great Powers had populations nearly double our own, while a third had nearly treble ours. Nor was this all. Properly speaking, we had then no Colonial Empire. We had just lost in a most disastrous, ignominious, and costly conflict the Thirteen American Provinces. Canada was a conquered dependency inhabited by French settlers. The Cape of Good Hope was Dutch territory, and Australia and New Zealand were yet unoccupied. Further, we held only a small part of India. Lastly, Ireland was thoroughly disaffected, waiting only for French assistance to burst into open insurrection. We drew invaluable aid from Ireland, no doubt, in the struggle against France, both in men and money, and it was an Irishman who finally triumphed over Napoleon. But, on the other hand, we had to occupy the country with an immense military force, we had to stamp out an armed insurrection, and if Hoche had landed at Bantry, we should have had to fight for our hold of the country against Roman Catholics and Presbyterians united, assisted by a large French force, and led by one of the greatest of the revolutionary generals. It is doubtful, therefore, whether Ireland ought not to be subtracted from our effective strength, and, if so, we were eighty-six years ago only ten millions against the twenty-six millions of France and Austria respectively and the forty millions of Russia. It will thus be seen that at the beginning of the revolutionary struggle England was an extremely small Power, both absolutely and relatively. When the struggle came to an end, the population of the United Kingdom was about 18,000,000; that of France 29,000,000; of Austria, 28,000,000; of Germany, 21,000,000; and of Russia in Europe, 48,000,000. England was still a very small Power, though relatively greater than it had been a quarter of a century previously. The population of both France and Austria exceeded it sixty per cent., and that of Russia continued to be nearly three times as great.

Now, however, a great change has taken place. Our population in the middle of last year was estimated in round numbers at 33,500,000; that of France was found by the late census at the end of 1876 to have been 36,905,000; that of Germany at the end of 1875 to have been 42,727,000; that of Austro-Hungary, 35,904,000 in the middle of 1872; and that of Russia in Europe 71,207,000 in 1867. These figures exhibit very clearly the immense changes brought about in the relative strength of the Great Powers in the course of the last sixty years. France has sunk from a position of commanding pre-eminence to that, at the most, of a mere equal in a group of mighty States. Austro-Hungary has also lost in importance, while her failure to assimilate the discordant races of which her Empire is composed still further lessens her political weight. Russia has maintained her position; but, except so far as she may succeed in aggrandizing herself by her present adventure, she has done no more. Germany, on the other hand, has risen immensely. From being a congeries of loosely confederated States with a population much smaller than either that of France or Austria, she has become a united Empire of nearly forty-three millions of souls—almost sixteen per cent. more populous than France. Scarcely less remarkable is the growth of the United Kingdom. Practically our population is now very nearly equal to the Austro-Hungarian or the French; it is only nine millions less than even the German; and is very close upon one-half the Russian. Consequently, there is now only a single community in Europe twice as numerous as our own, whereas there were two at the outbreak of the French Revolution;

and there is no State at all treble ourselves in population. In other words, even in numbers we are now all but the equals of France, while we have grown from barely a third to just one-half the population of Russia. In the meantime, the old Irish difficulty is rapidly disappearing. Unhappily, indeed, Ireland is still far from being heartily reconciled to her position in the Empire. She has, however, become so far loyal that such a rebellion as that of the United Irishmen is entirely impossible. However desperate the European struggle in which we may be engaged, we need never again fear to see Ulster and Munster banded together in an oath-bound conspiracy under the leadership of peers, country gentlemen, merchants, and barristers, to sever the connexion between the two islands. Ireland, therefore, will never again constitute the same drain on our resources as before. Another most important change to our advantage is the growth of our colonial possessions. At the beginning of this century our foreign dependencies were scattered over the world, and were unable to afford us substantial help even towards their own defence. Now we have in Canada and Australia alone, without reckoning South Africa, the West Indies, or other settlements, over six millions of people of European descent. The efficiency of the Canadian defensive armaments is recognized by military men; and spirit, at least, is not wanting in Australia to reproduce the system. From both, therefore, in case of need, we should receive effective help in their own defence at any rate. If we add these populations to our own, the purely British population ranks third in numbers amongst the Powers of Europe. Were we to add India, with its limitless recruiting grounds, we should be more than a match for the four other Great Powers all combined together, with Italy thrown in as a makeweight. Leaving, however, India and the colonies out of the account, our own thirty-three and a half millions at home enable us, if we have the will, to take rank as a military nation with the greatest of the Continental Powers. At the time of the American Civil War the white population of the South amounted in round numbers to five and a half millions, and, according to the Superintendent of the last Census, one million of these—that is, two-elevenths—were actually placed in the field in the course of the four years. Of course the Confederacy was fighting on its own ground, and in defence of hearth and home. No nation, however public-spirited, would submit to such a terrible strain, except when driven to fight for its life. Yet this example from a people of our own blood in our own day illustrates what England could do in the last extremity. Were we to make the same exertions, we could confront our enemies in the course of four years with over six millions of men, or armies equal to all the existing military forces of the Continent.

We have spoken so far only of the increase of population. Unfortunately there exist no data for comparing the accumulation of public wealth. So far, however, as our own country alone is concerned, the important paper recently read before the Statistical Society by Mr. Giffen enables us to estimate the changes effected in our position by the lapse of sixty years. We came out of the war against Napoleon with a debt of nine hundred millions sterling, secured upon a national property of twenty-two hundred millions. Now, our debt is under eight hundred millions, and our estate eight thousand five hundred millions. Were the proportion the same as at the time of Waterloo, the debt would exceed three thousand millions—that is to say, twenty-two hundred millions would be added to the existing debt. The great American Civil War burdened the North with a debt of four hundred millions, and it is not likely that, were we surprised by a war for which we are unprepared, we should exceed the waste, prodigality, and financial incompetence of the North, or that we should have to make greater exertions to secure ultimate victory. We should probably, therefore, not increase our debt more rapidly than at the rate of a hundred millions a year. If so, we might wage a conflict as prolonged as that against revolutionary France without burdening ourselves more heavily than we did in that gigantic struggle. And there would of course be room for a corresponding increase of taxation.

We state these facts not in any spirit of boastfulness, but simply with a view to show what is our actual position in the world. If we shrink from upholding our national rights and performing our national duties, it is not from any want of real power, but merely because, whether from policy or indolence, we have not thought fit to organize our vast resources in due season.

#### SCHOOL BOARD PEDANTRY.

READERS of Peacock's *Crotchet Castle* may remember how the Rev. Dr. Folliott, bursting one morning into Mr. Crotchet's breakfast-room, exclaimed, "God bless my soul, sir! I am out of all patience with this march of mind. There has my house been nearly burned down by my cook taking it into her head to study hydrostatics in a sixpenny tract published by the Steam Intellect Society." Later on, in answer to Mr. Firedamp, who says to him, "Sir, you seem to make very light of science," the Doctor explains:—"Yes, sir, such science as the learned friend deals in. Everything for everybody, science for all, schools for all, rhetoric for all, law for all, physic for all, words for all, and sense for none. I say, sir, law for lawyers, and cookery for cooks; and I wish the learned friend, for all his life, a cook that will pass her time in studying his works; then every dinner he sits down to at home he will sit on the stool of repentance." What the reverend Doctor

would have thought of the present march of mind, considering how he was shocked by it nearly fifty years ago, it is difficult to imagine. Both he and his inventor would surely have been appalled at the latest instance of the care of a paternal government for the education of its children. Dr. Follitt would, indeed, have had a double cause for anger; for, on another occasion, when some one speaks of the great enchanter, meaning Sir Walter Scott, the Doctor asserts that he prefers "the great enchanter of Covent Garden; he who, for more than a quarter of a century, has produced two pantomimes a year, to the delight of children of all ages, including myself at all ages. That is the enchanter for me. I am for the pantomimes."

The London School Board, in the case to which we refer, has run directly counter to Dr. Follitt's two pet prejudices, and we may safely add, without the fear of any general disagreement, to all the rules of common sense. To these rules of course such a body as the School Board may be held to be superior; and the mere fact that in its wisdom it has made up its mind that pantomimes are noxious may possibly carry weight with some people. But let us tell the tale of the School Board's indignation before making any further comments upon it. On the 8th of February Mr. Wybrow Robertson, manager of the Royal Aquarium Theatre, appeared at the Westminster Police Court to answer several summonses taken out under the provisions of the Elementary Education Act, 1876, for employing children over ten years of age, and two summonses for employing children over the age of ten years who had not obtained certificates of competency as to reading, writing, &c. The summonses arose out of the employment of the children in the Christmas pantomime, and Mr. Straight, who appeared for the School Board, observed that, "instead of their minds being improved by proper and judicious schooling, they were employed twice a day skipping about, and got notions in their heads which could be of no use to them." The antithesis is perhaps not much more reasonable than the celebrated one "instead of which you steal geese on a common," for it is difficult to see what harm there can possibly be in children skipping about. Nor would one have thought that the "notions" spoken of with so much contempt could have been very deleterious. There is nothing actually shocking in the notion of representing either a Colorado beetle or a French soldier, which it was proved was done in the afternoon and evening by a little boy who, be it observed, went to school in the morning. As far as the usefulness of this particular notion was concerned, it is probable that the nine shillings a week gained by it commended themselves more to the dull minds of the child's parents than would the extra lessons which the School Board apparently would like to put in their place. It was also proved that before the charge was heard, a school had been established for the children at the Aquarium, where they went through a course of instruction. Mr. Robertson, in answer to the summonses, observed that what had been said about idleness and skipping about was only intended to cast a slur upon the profession generally. The children were better educated than they could be in a Board school; they had a competent school-master, and, besides that, were drilled and taught music and singing under the best masters. Mr. Straight ridiculed the idea that this could be called education, and at that point the case was adjourned for a second hearing. We may take advantage of this break in its course to see what was thought on the subject of whether this could be called education or not by one Francis Bacon, who, although he lived before the days of Steam Intellect Societies and School Boards, is generally supposed to have been a wise man. In a passage to which is prefixed the heading, "The action of the Stage recommended as a part of discipline," he wrote thus:—"It also deserves to be remarked that even ordinary talents in great men, and on great occasions, may sometimes produce remarkable effects. And of this we will give an eminent instance, the rather because the Jesuits judiciously retain the discipline among them. And though the thing itself be disreputable in the profession of it, yet it is excellent as a discipline; we mean the action of the theatre, which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone of the voice and the efficacy of pronunciation, gracefully composes the countenance and the gesture, procures a becoming degree of assurance; and, lastly, accustoms youth to the eye of man."

These we might take to be advantages worth acquiring, and it might be supposed that in these days Bacon's qualification, "though the thing itself be disreputable in the profession of it," would be unnecessary. But the School Board is wiser, no doubt, in its generation than was Bacon in his, and recognizes thoroughly how disreputable a thing it is to appear as a Colorado beetle, and how impossible to obtain proper instruction within the wicked walls of a theatre. When the case came on for a second hearing several of the children and their parents were examined, and stated that they were benefited by the training which they received; they learned, in addition to reading and writing, music, drilling, and manners, and were not fatigued by their occupation. This, the School Board answered, through the mouth of Mr. Straight, was not the elementary education contemplated by the Act of Parliament, and it was idle and childish to maintain that it was. Mr. Robertson in his reply observed, we must say, with great justice, that the proceedings might almost be characterized as vexatious. The solicitor to the School Board had written to him on January 24, saying that he had been instructed to begin proceedings against him in this matter, unless he would dismiss all the children employed contrary to the Act. Mr. Robertson replied "that the

children were being honestly educated and trained, that it would be impossible to dismiss them at a day's notice, but that he would do so in a week, and the law would be better enforced in many other instances than in picking out a theatre for prosecution." Any one of ordinary common sense would have seen that it was quite impossible to dismiss at once a number of persons engaged in a theatrical representation without throwing the whole thing out of gear and entailing a serious loss upon many unoffending people. The School Board, however, was not pleased to accept Mr. Robertson's very reasonable proposal, and after he had a second time pointed out that he could not dismiss the children at a day's notice without stopping the pantomime and throwing all the other actors out of work, the summonses against him were taken out. The law required, Mr. Robertson went on to say, that they should be taught at an elementary school or in an "equally efficient" manner; and this, according to common sense, should be taken to imply that, if children were taught reading, writing, music, and drilling, brought up to an honest living, and taught to be intelligent members of the community, then they were properly educated. Their appearance and brightness in the witness-box were, he contended, in his favour; and from their occupation they and their parents earned money, and were benefited. Mr. D'Eyncourt, the magistrate, while he wished that the summonses had not been taken out, and that Mr. Robertson's proposition had been accepted by the Board, observed that there were other cases of the kind throughout the country, and this action had been taken as a warning and caution. He did not see how Mr. Robertson could get over the difficulty without proving that the education received by the children in the morning was equal to that given all day and all the week at elementary schools, where the principles of education were laid down; and Mr. Robertson must therefore cease to employ the children.

With the magistrate's decision is of course impossible to quarrel. It is equally impossible to be satisfied with the action in this matter of the School Board, which, by a grossly pedantic insistence upon the letter of the law, has deprived a number of children of the chance of making an honest weekly income, and at the same time learning, alongside with what most people regard as elementary knowledge, a special discipline as to the value of which most people will be disposed to agree with Bacon rather than with the School Board. The School Board has not only made itself ridiculous, but has laid itself open to the remark that there may after all be some justice in the complaints frequently made of its misuse of its authority.

#### THE CARL ROSA OPERA.

MR. CARL ROSA has again undertaken a season of opera in English in London. The theatre he has taken for this purpose is the Adelphi, no other being available at the time. We cannot but regret, in the interests of musical art, that he should be obliged to content himself with so small a house. Mr. Rosa is an orchestral conductor of such great skill and judgment that we feel that he ought to have space in which to give rein to the power of his hand, instead of being obliged, as at the Adelphi, to be continually repressing and restraining his orchestra. True it is that, thanks to his care and artistic feeling, one seldom is aware that this is the case; but we cannot help the afterthought that, were he less fettered, he could give us something even better than the performance which he has given.

For the first opera of the season Mr. Rosa has chosen Nicolai's *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Perhaps no opera could gain so much as this by being performed in English. The other operas which have been written on Shakspearian subjects—such as *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*—have to do with romantic characters outside the experience of everyday life; but to an English audience Sir John Falstaff is a real and living personage, and Sir John singing Italian recitative cannot but make an unpleasant impression. To this cause may perhaps be attributed the comparatively little favour with which the work has hitherto been received in this country. The somewhat careless performance of it last season at Covent Garden also, no doubt, prevented those who then heard the work from fully appreciating its many merits. As performed at the Adelphi, however, we hear the opera as nearly as possible under the circumstances under which German audiences have heard it for so many years and with so much approval. The recitatives with which it had been encumbered for the Italian stage have been swept away and spoken dialogue substituted, taken as closely as possible from Shakspeare's comedy—as the original dialogue by Mosenthal was taken from the German version of the play—so that the intentions of both composer and librettist are respected. Heard under these conditions, we are able to feel the bright dramatic character of the music. We now understand the bright sparkling character of the songs and concerted music of Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Page, the rollicking humour of the music given to Falstaff, and the tender but bright view that the composer has taken of Anne Page's character. We cannot say that the music of the opera ever quite realizes the hopes raised by the overture, but it is always tuneful and dramatic, and many passages are of great beauty. The orchestration is not very elaborate, but is effective, and is far above that school of modern Italian scoring which Wagner has said is only using the orchestra as a "big guitar." The opera is formed on the model of comic opera, and must be thought of and criticized as a comic opera. We must not expect to find great depth of



musical feeling in a work the subject of which supplies no very serious or emotional dramatic situations. What we expect in a work of this sort we find here—freshness, sparkle, and dramatic expression of fun and high spirits, together with enough tenderness to support the slender love interest of the story.

The performance was, as a whole, admirable; the orchestra is not only perfectly drilled and thoroughly under the conductor's control, but has a beauty of tone, especially in the strings, such as is rarely heard. Mr. Rosa also has the power of accompanying the voices without drowning them with his band, a power which is often wanting in other orchestral and operatic conductors. The chorus again has the charm of beauty of quality in the voices as well as perfect intonation and attack. The well-known overture was almost perfectly played, Mr. Rosa showing his power of appreciating the most playful music as well as that of the more severe school by the wonderful grace and charm which he gave to the beautiful waltz movement, especially at its second occurrence. Miss Julia Gaylord, who has played Mrs. Ford with marked success since the opening night, having retired from the company, her place was taken on Wednesday evening by Miss Carina Clelland, who, in spite of her obvious nervousness and the difficulty of the music, made a very favourable impression on her audience, particularly by her bright singing of the recitative in the first act, "Soon he'll be here," in which she debates with herself how to receive Falstaff, and also in the beautiful passage towards the close of the same act, "The hopes of life's bright morning," in which Mrs. Ford expresses her feigned despair at her husband's unjust suspicions. The singer possesses many good qualities, and amongst them the power of distinctly articulating her words—a most valuable one in a singer of opera in English. Miss Josephine York's fine contralto voice and good singing were well used by her in the part of Mrs. Page; and her steadiness and care were of great value in the concerted music. Miss Georgina Burns (Anne Page) has an excellent method and a fresh clear voice of excellent quality; her singing is full of expression and intelligence. She has still much to learn as an actress; however, she is yet young, and has time before her. But she should not lose a day in changing the instructor, who has taught her to lay her hand on her "heart," spread her "arms," take hold of her "dress," and touch her "brow," when these words occur, and thus to almost destroy the charm produced by her admirable singing in the recitative in the last act:—

No, no, I will not break my plight;  
Fenton shall find me ever true and faithful.  
Thou, of constant hearts the friend,  
O Fairy Queen Titania, bestow thine aid on me.  
Disguised like thee, I'll seek my lover's arms,  
And kindly night shall smile upon our union.  
Not dress'd in green will I join in the revels,  
Nor yet in rosepink robes attired.  
No! white my dress shall be,  
The veil pure white, and white the wreath,  
And snow-white lilies round my brow shall cluster—

which, with the following air, "Beloved, ever true to thee," is perhaps the most pleasing thing in the whole opera. To Mr. Aynsley Cook, as Falstaff, but little praise can be given. The part depends rather on acting than on singing, and great effect can be produced by it in the hands of a singer who is also a good actor. Herr Scaria, now of the Vienna opera-house, made one of his greatest successes in this part when he was at Dresden, and made it in great measure by his really excellent acting of the character. Mr. Cook's acting was not good, and his appearance was extravagant beyond even traditional limits. His knowledge of the text in the spoken dialogue and his conception of the character may be judged of by a mistake made by him in the tavern scene, when Falstaff says:—"Bah, I challenge them both. Bring three flagons of sack, and he who fails to drain his flagon shall pay for all." Mr. Cook's version being "I shall pay for the lot." His singing was careful, and in a certain sense good, but his want of dramatic feeling for the character prevented him from getting much effect from the music, even in the case of the stirring drinking-song in the second act, "In praise of Bacchus, rosy god."

Mr. J. W. Turner, who replaces Mr. F. C. Packard in the part of Fenton, has a good appearance, but seemingly is without much experience of the stage. His part contains much very pretty music, which he sang with some expression. Unfortunately Mr. Turner, although gifted with a good voice by nature, has acquired a faulty method for its production, the result being that terrible *vibrato* which seems to affect so many of the best natural voices at the present time. He, however, sang the beautiful romance in the second act, "Wide thy lattice open, my dearest," very effectively, and also sang well in the duet with Anne Page which follows, the violin obbligato to which was most beautifully played. Mr. Charles Lyall, who plays Master Slender, has an agreeable voice, and sings what little music he has skillfully, and, making due allowance for traditional stage license, plays the part fairly well. The other three singing parts—Mr. Ford, Mr. Page, and Dr. Caius—are played respectively by Mr. Ludwig, Mr. Snazelle, and Mr. W. H. Dodd, who all three have good voices, and sing well; Mr. Ludwig's voice especially being of very good quality, while his acting, as far as it went, was intelligent. On the whole, in the production of this opera, Mr. Rosa has certainly succeeded in the task which he has set before him. He has given us a good sound interpretation of the music by good artists, aided by all that a skilful musician and practised conductor can do for the orchestral and choral parts of the work, whilst as a manager he has shown wise

liberality without needless extravagance; the opera is well mounted, the dresses especially being fresh and good.

In the last act the ballet in the mock fairy scene at Herne's Oak is at first treated by the composer in much the same spirit as that in which Mendelssohn treated the subject of elves and fairies in his music to the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. He then winds up the storm of elfish torment of Falstaff with the galop movement of the overture. This scene has been most admirably put on the stage, the drilling of the ballet and children doing great credit to Mrs. Aynsley Cook, who has acted as ballet mistress. Miss Josephine Warren, who has but little to do in these dances, shows herself to be a dancer of great promise, with unusual grace of gesture, and apparently some knowledge of pantomimic action. She has the further advantage of considerable beauty of figure, an advantage rare amongst dancers. We may perhaps have an opportunity in the course of the season of seeing her in some dramatic ballet part. In this scene a most unnecessary liberty has been taken with Shakespeare's story. Slender and Caius, instead of eloping with boys in disguise, elope with each other, having been secretly written to by Anne Page who asks Slender to wear a green dress and Caius a pink one. Their reappearance in these dresses, after finding out their mistake, although it provokes a laugh, is not in the best taste, and tends to increase the farcical extravagance and improbability of the story, which is already extravagant enough.

There is one matter to which we venture to call Mr. Carl Rosa's attention. At present he has placed one of the double basses in the very centre of the orchestra behind the conductor's desk and next to the audience. In this position it seriously impedes the view of the stage from many parts of the stalls. Mr. Rosa, of course, has placed it there for some good reason, but we hope that that reason is not too strong, and that he will find some means of removing this obstacle from between the public and the stage.

## REVIEWS.

### TROLLOPE'S SOUTH AFRICA.\*

FOR the English public, which, little as it ordinarily thinks of South Africa, cannot help feeling some interest in a colony which now needs British troops to put down a revolt, it is a most fortunate accident that some inexplicable fancy moved Mr. Trollope to go to South Africa last year, and write a book about it. Mr. Trollope can get up a subject as few even of the most practised compilers can get it up, and he can write on his subject as no one else can write. In his two volumes on so very dull a subject as South Africa there is scarcely a dull page; and he has the art of deciding with tact what to say and what not to say, and has perceived that, if he made a bigger book, even he could not make a bigger book endurable. An excellent map is given with the first volume, and with it and Mr. Trollope's descriptions South Africa becomes an intelligible sort of district—very big, very dreary, full of bluish-black men, and sparsely peopled with a humble order of Europeans, but still a possible place to live in, and with a possible future before it. In his introductory chapter Mr. Trollope tells us that he had been long meditating a visit to South Africa, not from any particular wish to see it, but because he had seen most of our other colonies, and thought he ought to do them all round. While he was hesitating in the spring of last year the news came that the Transvaal had been annexed. "A sturdy Englishman had walked into the Republic with five-and-twenty policemen and a Union Jack, and had taken possession of it. 'Would the inhabitants of the Republic like to ask us to take it?' So much inquiry he seems to have made. 'No; the people, by the voice of their Parliament, declined even to consider so monstrous a proposition. 'Then I shall take it without being asked,' said Sir Theophilus. And he took it." This is the epigrammatic manner in which Mr. Trollope sums up a transaction which seemed to him so peculiar that all his hesitation vanished, and he determined to go at once and visit the scene where this strange thing had happened. He was warned that he was going to encounter much discomfort, and that, in fact, he was really too old for so laborious a journey. But he was ashamed to let such remarks deter him when he had once announced his intention of going. So he went, and did endure much discomfort, and found his journey very laborious. But he survived the trial, collected his materials, irradiated them with his facile style, and has now published the result in as good and as complete a notice of the Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, the Diamond Fields, and British Kaffraria as any home-staying Englishman could wish to have.

No adequate idea of South Africa can be formed unless from the outset it is kept in mind that the territory of which we are speaking is very large, and that this enormous tract is inhabited by 120,000 English, 220,000 Dutch, and 2,000,000 natives. That we should have held this corner of Africa for three-quarters of a century, and that at the end of the time there should only be this handful of English people in it, speaks with sufficient significance as to the smallness of the attractions which the

\* *South Africa*. By Anthony Trollope. London: Chapman & Hall. 1877.

colony can offer. It is not an outlet to which the superabundant population of England naturally flows. It is not a thriving, promising, pushing settlement like the Australian colonies. Settlers in South Africa make money slowly, if they make it at all; and they make it under many hardships and many trials of the spirit. They do not manage even to grow enough wheat for themselves, but have to import those fruits of the earth which it might be supposed a virgin soil would give them in abundance. They grow wool; but it is not good wool. They make brandy; but it is bad brandy. Of that produce of the vine which is known by the name of South African sherry it need only be said that the outer world steadily refuses to have anything to do with it. There is much grass, but it is a sour sort of grass. There is an endless extent of land that could grow wheat if only it were irrigated. But it is not irrigated, and it therefore does not produce wheat, or only a little, and not enough for the local consumption. One thing alone it has of which it can boast, and that is diamonds. Stones to the estimated value of twelve millions sterling have been found during the few years since it was first known that diamonds were to be discovered in South Africa, and this windfall has kept South Africa going. Those who find diamonds and those who buy them and sell them again create a market for all kinds of consumable articles; and as they want European goods to suit their fancy, and these goods are subject to Customs duties, the colonial revenues have been recently in a satisfactory state. A handful of struggling English people making bad brandy, collecting feathers, and cropping bad wool hardly answers to our ordinary notions of a colony at all. For what then does South Africa exist? Mr. Trollope replies that it exists, not to do good to England or to English settlers, but to the natives. In a rude way, and in one the beauties of which they fail to appreciate, we teach Caffres and Hottentots and Zulus to work. There is no slavery nor any form of enforced labour, and the Caffres and Zulus, not being obliged to work, very often decline to work, inasmuch that into this wide territory, with its two millions of blackish people, the handful of English have actually taken the trouble to import coolies from India, who are so far superior to the natives that they at least can be made to work. Still the natives do not altogether refuse to work, and when they get good wages regularly paid, as at the diamond mines, they acquire some of the habits of industry. In time, Mr. Trollope hopes, the custom of working for wages will become general among the Caffres and Zulus, and then we shall have so far reclaimed them, and may think of our occupation of South Africa with satisfaction and a good conscience.

This strange colony or dependency has expanded without any Englishman, official or unofficial, wishing that it should expand. The Dutch held the Cape as a house of call on the road to their Eastern possessions. When our Eastern possessions became of sufficient importance, we thought that we should like to have the house of call for ourselves, and took it. The Dutch, who had been established in this corner of South Africa, and over whom we thus came to rule, ran away from us, and we ran after them. That is the basis of South African history. The Dutch have their own way of living, and their own views of the proper relations between white and black men. They like to live entirely by themselves on a very large farm which they turn to a very small use. They think that the white man was meant to be the master, and that the black man was meant to be the servant. They not only had no objection to slavery, but they were honestly persuaded that to refuse to recognize slavery was to fly in the face of both Scripture and common sense. England, after a time, declared that she would not allow slavery; and the Dutch farmers have never got so far away that they could set up a slaveholding republic altogether beyond English control. But they have gone on and on seeking land where England would have as little to do with them as possible; where they might control the natives, having first fought them, or might, if they could, drive them all away; and where, at any rate, they might set up as many farms of the favourite size of 6,000 acres as they could win from dispossessed savages. The English Colonial Office did not at all like the process of running after Dutchmen with peculiar tastes and peculiar views, and tried very hard to decline the unwelcome task. It accordingly let them form for themselves two independent communities—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. But to have nothing to do with these runaway Dutchmen was very difficult in practice, although it seemed exceedingly desirable that they should be left to themselves. Englishmen went for the purposes of trade and of agriculture into those Dutch settlements, and the quarrels of the Dutch with the natives tended to raise commotions in the breasts of the savages subject to English rule or inclined to oppose English rule. When last year it appeared that the runaway Dutch in the Transvaal could not provide for their own safety, could not keep down their native adversaries, and were going to exhibit to the swarming blacks the spectacle of the utter collapse of a European settlement, England interfered and annexed the Transvaal. It was something very different from what is ordinarily meant by annexation. We merely asserted an authority which we had previously declined to exercise on the ground that to exercise it would be a burden to us. But, although the Transvaal was annexed, the Orange Free State remains Dutch. It is now entirely surrounded by English territory, and, being girt by this hedge, it is safe from native attack from without, and the Dutch appear to have succeeded in getting rid of the natives, or at any rate can manage to keep quiet the few who are still within their borders. The Diamond Fields are on the very edge of the State, and indeed it

seems to have required a little manœuvring and self-assertion to determine that they were in English territory. The Dutch, being such near neighbours, have naturally profited by the wealth which the diamond discoveries brought with them. The revenues of the Orange State are in a flourishing condition, order is maintained there, and the Dutch get on very happily in their own way. They were told that England would have nothing to do with them, and now they wish to have nothing to do with England. So far as Mr. Trollope could see, they have not the slightest wish to join a South African Confederation; and yet, if they do not join it, it is difficult to see how there can be any confederation. It is as if, when the American Union was formed, a State in the midst of the federated States, like Pennsylvania, had insisted on setting up for itself, had collected its own Customs duties, and had undertaken to provide for its own defence. Perhaps some day the Dutch of the Orange State may be squeezed into joining a confederation, but the pressure that will be needed will, if Mr. Trollope is right, be pressure of a very decided kind.

This is not the only difficulty in the way of confederation. The much greater difficulty is that South Africa from its very nature is very unsuited for confederation. The bulk of the inhabitants are savages only very partially reclaimed. They are far below the natives of India in every way, and it is a maxim of English policy that for free institutions the natives of India will not be ready for a time so long that English policy refuses to calculate it. The usual institutions of English colonies are entirely inapplicable to South Africa. In Natal, for example, there are 20,000 whites and 320,000 blacks. With such a disproportion of the two populations there can be nothing like representative government. To deny the franchise to the blacks and to confine it to the whites would be to recognize a difference in race which English statesmen would consider unjust and impolitic. To give the franchise to the blacks would be to put a revolver in the hands of a baby. The way in which we escape from this difficulty, according to our ordinary practice, is to deny representative institutions to all, and to ensure that all are well treated by the care of the Crown. There is no kind of reason for governing Ceylon in one way and Natal in another. In the Transvaal there are 40,000 Europeans and 250,000 coloured persons, and what is said of Natal may also be said of the Transvaal. When we have taken away Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange State, there is nothing left to join the Cape Colony except the rising population of the Diamond Fields, which will anyhow be absorbed in the Cape Colony. It is natural that the Colonial Office should wish a Confederation to be formed, because, if a Confederation raised and paid its own troops, we should not have to send British troops to fight the Caffres. But it is equally natural that the different portions of South Africa should not wish for a Confederation which presupposes the existence of institutions for which they are for the most part utterly unsuited. Why should they object to British troops fighting for them? It is not as if the English of South Africa felt the slightest pride in their possessions. They are not like the English in New Zealand, or Canada, or Australia, thriving, pushing Europeans with a great future before them and with no natives, or only a population of natives fast dying out, to deal with. They are a handful of men earning scanty fortunes amid great discomforts, with no prospect before them but that of being driven onwards and onwards into new controversies with runaway Dutchmen and new struggles with a native population which thrives and grows and has unending tribes of savages at its back. England cannot help herself. She cannot shrink from her appointed task. She wanted her house of call and she took it; and the consequence of this occupation is that we have now got on our hands a huge territory inhabited by a small band of our kinsfolk, nearly a quarter of a million of grumbling Dutchmen, and two millions of bluish-black savages. To help our kinsfolk a little way on the path of comfort, to consider the Dutch without considering them too much, and to train the savages in the elements of decent living is all we can do, and we must do it. We must yield to the appeal of friends, we must labour and give our money for what we cannot deny is a good object; but most Englishmen will feel, when they are invited to aid in governing South Africa, much of the dejection and impatient patience which are awakened in quiet people when they are asked to contribute to a bazaar.

Such, substantially, are the views which Mr. Trollope has brought home with him from South Africa, and they form so much the most important part of what is to be found in his volumes that the main attention of the reader is necessarily directed to them. But Mr. Trollope went to South Africa not only to form opinions, but to travel and observe, and most of what he has given us is a record of his travels and observations. He began with the Cape Colony, visiting the Western province first, but leaving much of it to be taken on his homeward route. He then went from Cape Town to Algoa Bay, the port of the Eastern province. A tour through British Caffraria brought him to the port of East London, and then a steamer took him to D'Urban, the port of Natal. Unlucky in everything, South Africa is especially unlucky in its ports, for there is always a dangerous bar between the seafarer and the land, and it is much to the credit of the colonists that they have raised, and are raising, what for poor people are very large sums, in order to conquer nature and make ports by clearing the bars and constructing breakwaters. In Natal Caffres are exchanged for Zulus, and the Zulus in Mr. Trollope's eyes are a superior people to the Caffres. But the Zulus cannot be



depended on for constant work, and sugar-growing, which is the speciality of Natal, is carried on with the assistance of 10,000 imported coolies. Being in Natal, Mr. Trollope inquired patiently into the whole history of Langalibalele, and came to the conclusion that the injured favourite of philanthropists has got a better fate than he deserved. He was sentenced to be kept in Robben Island, a penal settlement of the Cape Colony; but when philanthropy interfered he was comfortably settled as a private gentleman in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, with an allowance of 500*l.* a year, and liberty to have some at least of his seventy wives with him. Mr. Trollope, on his return to Cape Town, paid a visit to the exiled chief. He could not get the chief to say much, but the son and nephew of the chief indicated that sixpence apiece would be very welcome, and when Mr. Trollope went as far as half-a-crown, they recognized with enthusiasm the greatness of the man who had come so far to see them. From Pieter Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, Mr. Trollope started on the really rough part of his excursion, and very rough and very tiresome he found it. He came across a companion who wanted to make the same round, and they bought four horses and a cart and set off. In this way, after a succession of those small disagreeable incidents of rough travelling which Mr. Trollope can describe better perhaps than any rival, the travellers got to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal. Sir Theophilus Shepstone was not there, and Mr. Trollope could not therefore obtain at first hand all the materials he was in search of to estimate the propriety of the annexation. But he got far enough on in his studies to think that the annexation was justified. From Pretoria Mr. Trollope went to the diamond mines and examined with much interest one of the most curious scenes in the world—a vast bowl, nine acres in extent, scooped out of the earth, with its floor divided into little pens, representing the different privileges of the proprietors, and three thousand Caffres working like bees in a hive, digging out the precious earth, which is thence sent aloft to be sifted. The life of a diamond seeker seemed to Mr. Trollope one of the most dismal that man can lead, and the scenery amid which the mines are situated hideous beyond all parallel. But the diamonds have made the fortune of South Africa, so far as it can be said to have had any fortune made for it. And Mr. Trollope saw at Kimberley in much greater perfection than elsewhere the realization of his ideal, the reclamation of natives by the process of hearty voluntary work. From Kimberley Mr. Trollope turned gradually homewards, and with his usual astonishing industry finished the composition of his book at sea. We can share in some measure, by reading what he has written, such pleasure as he found in visiting South Africa; but no one but himself can affect to appreciate justly the deep delight he felt when his visit was over.

#### CRUTTWELL'S HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE.\*

SHORT histories of literature are often a disappointment and a weariness. They are like the short draught of milk and water which Mr. Squeers allowed to his pupils, and which was just enough to make the pupils wish for more. To a reader who is not acquainted with the literature which is sketched, a semblance of knowledge is presented without either pleasure or real advantage. He is offered the chopped hay of culture, a collection of names, dates, and scanty remarks, which at best are more or less feeble epigrams. To a reader who has some acquaintance with the subject handled short histories of literature are generally still more annoying. They omit essential facts, and especially they allow no space for pleasant reminiscences of favourite passages. Though Mr. Cruttwell's book on Latin literature is not long, he has successfully avoided, we think, the faults of painful scantiness and dullness. Possibly the example of Mr. Green's work on English history has taught him something, and helped him to a method. He has produced that rare thing, a manual which contains all necessary facts and references to all indispensable authorities, and which, far from being repulsively dry, is rather attractive, and apt to make the student go on reading longer than he originally intended. A reader consults Mr. Cruttwell as to Seneca, for example, and insensibly finds himself deeply interested in Aulus Gellius. Thus, though the purpose of the book is chiefly educational, and though the author has even a cautious eye for the needs of lads who are going into examinations, yet the "general reader" will find himself, in the words of the siren's song,

Not only charmed, but instructed more.

It is certainly singular that so very practical a volume should prove, in spite of tables of possible questions to be set in the schools, so nearly resembling a work of pure literary criticism.

Mr. Cruttwell's *History of Roman Literature* is a sketch; and it has the usefulness and some of the defects of rapid design. If ever the author sets himself to write a complete and exhaustive history of the period here treated of, he will find that his earlier work supplies a useful basis. Much will have to be added, of course; for it is impossible that a writer should have given equally minute attention to every part of so large a theme. Latin literature, from one point of view, has not yet ceased to exist; and, in one sense, it was in active life when Milton wrote his *Defensio populi Anglicani*. From another point of view, Latin literature was a

flower of the briefest blossom. As an expression of national life and thought it scarcely lasted three hundred years. Thus it is in strong contrast with Greek literature, which still endures, and has always endured, with no real break in its continuous though often attenuated life. Mr. Cruttwell's work begins with some account of the people of Italy and of their dialects, and ends with Apuleius, "something between a Cagliostro and a Swedenborg." We should rather have thought him a kind of rowdy Lord Lytton, with a dash of Mr. D. D. Home; but his is an unworthy figure to close the long procession of orators and poets; and one might have preferred Ausonius or Prudentius. It is only an arbitrary line that can be drawn; and no doubt Mr. Cruttwell has a right to pause at what he calls "the remarkable spectacle of the renaissance of Greek literature in the second century after Christ."

He begins his book with a very lucid criticism of the opposed character and influence of the thought and art of Greece and Rome. "The two literatures wield alternate influence; the one on the side of liberty, the other on the side of government; the one as urging restless movement towards the ideal, the other as counselling steady acceptance of the real." He goes on to show how essentially Latin is a cultivated language, how remote from the dialect of the people, and therefore from life. "In a certain sense Latin was studied as a dead language while it was still a living one. Classical composition, even in the time of Juvenal, must have been a labour analogous to, though of course much lighter than, that of the Italian scholars of the sixteenth century." If culture seems in one sense to kill the Latin speech, on the other hand it never really allowed that speech to expire, but preserved it through successive centuries as the artificial language of learning and of law. Thus Latin gained on one side as much as it lost on the other—gained in permanence what it lost in charm—from the conscious workmanship of the Romans. The weakness of Roman literature in history, the lax conception of historical responsibility, is traced by Mr. Cruttwell, with much plausibility, to the great and conscious elaboration of style:—

Even the sage Quintilian maintains the popular misconception when he says, "History is closely akin to poetry, and is written for purposes of narration, not of proof; being composed with the motive of transmitting our fame to posterity, it avoids the dullness of continuous narrative by the use of rarer words and freer periphrases." . . . This false opinion arose no doubt from the narrowness of view which persisted in regarding all kinds of literature as merely exercises in style. For instance, accuracy of statement was not regarded as the goal and object of the writer's labours, but rather as a useful means of obtaining clearness of arrangement; abundant information helped towards condensation; original observation towards vivacity; personal experience of the events towards pathos or eloquence.

The historian of an art which is never spontaneous, which retains none of the fragrance of the wild stock of poetry, of dirge, and ballad, and the dance and music of country people, has rather a dreary task. He who writes about Greek literature, or English, or Italian, or even old French, is like the man in the motto of Mr. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*:—

ἔδρεπεν ἔρερον ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ  
αἰρόμενος ἀγρευμ' ἀνθίων  
ἀδομένα ψυχῇ.

The student of Roman poetry and prose has a more mechanical task, and the flowers he classifies have the hardness of the fossil. Mr. Cruttwell has nothing new to say about the ancient spontaneous ballads of the Romans, and their songs on the deeds of the national heroes. He has to quote Macaulay and Niebuhr, and the Græcized Saturnian metre:—

Dabunt malum Metelli Nævio poetæ.

His remarks on the Arval hymn are not enlivened by any comparison of that hymn with parallel songs of the same sort which still exist, for example, in the language of the Finns. The epitaphs of the Scipios, and other very early fragments of Latin, ought to have been translated for the "general reader," who will find a good deal to interest him in the later part of this book.

With the introduction of Greek literature (240-204 B.C.), the parallel between the Italy of that age and the Italy of the fourteenth century becomes curiously close in one or two respects. Thus Livius Andronicus, and his translation of the *Odyssey* into Saturnian verse, remind one necessarily of that bald and barbarous Latin version which Petrarch and Boccaccio were fain to use. If Mr. Cruttwell had cared to quote a few lines of each, instead of referring his readers to "Wordsworth," he would have made a curious literary point which he has missed. The topic of early Roman literary effort is so dry that no such chance of enlivening it can well be neglected. Perhaps, too, he is almost overdidactic when he says that the plays of Plautus "can have had no good effect on the susceptible minds of the audience." It would be possible to criticize the *Aufklärung* at Rome, the break-up of ancient morality, in a wider and more sympathetic spirit. Probably Mr. Cruttwell is right in thinking that nothing important was contributed to the work of Terence by Scipio, Lælius, Furius, and the rest. Molière, in his time, was accused of writing his plays from the notes of great people about the Court:—

homines nobiles

Hunc adjuvare, assidueque una scribere,

as Terence says, but the charge was merely malevolent. In Mr. Cruttwell's space it is impossible to do much more than give a short statement of the best known facts in the history of Ennius, and to show the difficulties of the Roman Epic poet:—

The admission of the Olympic deities as a kind of divine machinery for diversifying and explaining the narrative was much more pregnant with consequences. Outwardly, it is simply adopted from Homer, but the spirit

\* *A History of Roman Literature, from the Earliest Period to the Death of Marcus Aurelius*. By C. T. Cruttwell, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. London: Griffin & Co. 1877.

which animates it is altogether different. The Greek, in spite of his intellectual scepticism, retained an æsthetic and emotional belief in his national gods, and at any rate it was natural that he should celebrate them in his verse; but the Roman poet claimed (*sic*) to utilize the Greek Pantheon for artistic purposes alone. He professed no belief in the beings he depicted. They were merely an ornamental, supernatural element, either introduced at will, as in Horace, or regulated according to traditional conceptions, as in Ennius and Virgil. Apollo, Minerva, and Bacchus, were probably no more to him than they are to us. They were names, consecrated by genius and convenient for art, under which could be combined the maximum of beautiful associations with the minimum of trouble to the poet. The custom, which perpetuated itself in Latin poetry, revived again with the rise of Italian art; and under a modified form its influence may be seen in the grand conceptions of Milton. The true nature of romantic poetry is, however, alien to any such mechanical employment of the supernatural, and its comparative infrequency in the highest English and German poetry stamps these as products of the modern spirit. Had the Romans left Olympus to itself, and occupied themselves only with the rhetorical delineation of human action and feeling, they would have chosen a less ambitious but certainly more original path. Lucretius struggles against the prevailing tendency; but so unable were the Romans to invest their finer fancies with any other shape, that even while he is blaming the custom he unawares falls into it.

But in Lucretius the ardent and reverent belief in the forces of the world lends truth and massiveness to their mythological personifications. His *Mavors* and his *Venus* have their own majestic life, even more impressive, perhaps, than that of Homer's more joyous and human deities.

In Mr. Cruttwell's book, however, a long tract of historical, grammatical, and rhetorical writers separates Ennius from Lucretius. The chronological arrangement has this disadvantage, that the reader's attention is checked and diverted, and he cannot trace the evolution of the poetical spirit. This break in the interest is, of course, caused by the artificial growth of Roman literature. Instead of beginning with popular and artistic songs, and advancing through epic and the drama to the later lyrics, the Roman literary spirit moves in a confused way from point to point. The same man is epic poet, tragedian, and satirist, and in all branches of his art is working from models and at second hand. The difference between Greece and Rome is measured by the gulf between Cato and Hesiod, between L. Cincius Alimentus and Herodotus. The account of Cato is made most lifelike and interesting by some touches of personal description, and the chapter devoted to Cicero is written with enthusiasm, and at the same time with justice. Mr. Cruttwell has none of that rather priggish contempt for the great orator which De Quincey first made popular; he is too sensible of the amiability even of Cicero's weakness. His explanation of the judicial systems at Rome (pp. 119, 120) is most useful and lucid; and he does not disdain to enliven his narrative with an anecdote which proves that educated slaves had dangerous duties:—

Galba, from respect to Laelius, was unwilling to undertake the case; but, having finally agreed, he spent the short time that was left in getting it by heart, retiring into a vaulted chamber with some highly educated slaves, and remaining at work till after the consuls had taken their seat. Being sent for he at last came out, and, as Rutilius the narrator and eye-witness declared, with such a heightened colour and triumph in his eyes that he looked like one who had already won his cause. Laelius himself was present. The advocate spoke with such force and weight that scarcely an argument passed unapplauded. Not only were the accused released, but they met on all hands with sympathy and compassion. Cicero adds that the slaves who had helped in the consultation came out of it covered with bruises, such was the vigour of body as well as mind that a Roman brought to bear on his case, and on the unfortunate instruments of its preparation.

The most interesting and most truly national period of Roman literature was, of course, the latter age of the Republic, and that Augustan time when a sense of the greatness of Rome's imperial task took the place of national feeling. Mr. Cruttwell has judiciously inserted a chapter on the poetry of Alexandria, and on the Alexandrine influence at Rome. This is a moment which has been too often neglected by the hurried compilers of manuals and books for students. We may quote a passage in which the matter is better than the manner:—

The contribution of Alexandria to human progress consists, then, in its recoil from Greek exclusiveness, in its sifting of what was universal in Greek thought from what was national, and presenting the former in a systematised form for the enlightenment of those who received it. This is its nobler side; the side which men like Ennius and Scipio seized, and welded into a harmonious union with the higher national tradition of Rome, out of which union arose that complex product to which the name *humanitas* was so happily given. But Alexandrian culture was more than cosmopolitan. It was in a sense anti-national. Egyptian superstition, theurgy, magic, and charlatanism of every sort, tried to amalgamate with the imported Greek culture. In Greece itself they had never done this. The clear light of Greek intellect had no fellowship with the obscure or the mysterious. It drove them into corners and let them mutter in secret. But the moment the lamp of culture was given into other hands, they started up again unabashed and undismayed. The Alexandrine thinkers struggled to make Greek influences supreme, to exclude altogether those of the East; and their efforts were for three centuries successful: neither mysticism nor magic reigned in the museum of the Ptolemies. But this victory was purchased at a severe cost. The enthusiasm of the Alexandrian scholars had made them pedants. They gradually ceased to care for the thought of literature, and busied themselves only with questions of learning and of form. Their multifarious reading made them think that they too had a literary gift. Philotas was not only a profound logician, but he affected to be an amatory poet. Callimachus, the brilliant and courtly librarian of Philadelphus, wrote nearly every kind of poetry that existed. Aratus treated the abstruse investigations of Eudoxus in neat verses that at once became popular. While in the great periods of Greek art each writer had been content to excel in a single branch, it now became the fashion for the same poet to be Epicist, Lyrist, and Elegy-writer at once.

When we said that Mr. Cruttwell's work had some of the defects of a sketch, we alluded to phrases like "the side which Ennius

and Scipio seized and welded," and to the description of "the obscure and mysterious" muttering in corners and in secret. There is too much of this rapid and facile rhetoric in Mr. Cruttwell's otherwise clear and sensible style. There is at least one sentence (p. 481) in which pronouns welter with mixed metaphors in wild confusion. One cannot but recognize weariness and haste in these laxities of style. Where Mr. Cruttwell has a matured opinion he states it perfectly clearly, and one often feels that his words light up the subject as criticism should do. The whole account of Lucan may be noted as peculiarly sympathetic, and yet accurately critical. It has a freshness which one sometimes misses in the conscientious performance of a long and often arid task. There are other chapters in which Mr. Cruttwell should do for himself what he says Januarius Nepotianus did for Valerius Maximus. It is impossible perhaps that one writer should have an equally fresh knowledge of, and be equally interested in, Virgil, Lucretius, Tacitus, and Asconius Pedianus. One cannot but think that the space devoted to obscure writers, mere names and shadows, is excessive. No one really reads them; no one, at least, except scholars who are not likely to be subject to the ordeal of examinations. This, however, is the business of schoolmasters and examiners. Mr. Cruttwell has been obliged to think of the needs of their pupils and victims, and so has found it necessary to contract the space devoted to the criticism of important authors. His book, as we have said, may always be read with interest when his topic has any life, and it must be a most serviceable, indeed indispensable, guide to those who seek for honours in the "First Public Examination," and generally to undergraduates, and boys in the upper forms of schools. The lists of authorities and of editions, and the index, are carefully compiled and very serviceable.

#### LOW'S HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NAVY.\*

WHATEVER may be thought of the wisdom of breaking up the naval establishment of the East India Company when the powers of that memorable corporation were finally absorbed into the direct jurisdiction of the Crown, no one, we imagine, will in time to come be found to question the value of its services or the merits of the officers by whom it was organized and conducted. The services of the Indian navy have been exposed to undeserved neglect. Kept coldly in the background so far as official records or chronicles are concerned, they have met with no ampler or warmer meed of justice at the hands of historians or private writers. The deeds of the Indian army, and the triumphs of Indian diplomatists and statesmen, have been set forth in detailed histories and extolled in eloquent essays. The feats of the British navy in Eastern waters have found their recorders and panegyrists in writers like James and Marshall. But even in the case of such events as the capture of Mauritius and the Java war, accounts have been written in which no mention is made even of the presence of a squadron or ships of the Indian navy; nor do the Government reports make much more than a passing reference to them. In the year 1858 the whole service was summarily broken up, the vessels were condemned to be sold, the officers pensioned off, and the official records disposed of as waste paper.

The slight thus passed upon a service they had loved so well has rankled long and deeply in the minds of many of the able band of men thus suddenly sent adrift, and we are glad to find that so well qualified a member of that service as Lieutenant Low has been stimulated to take in hand a record of the services of the Indian navy from its origin to its final suppression. He has had the advantage of access to such official documents as still remain in the archives of the Indian Department, together with published memoirs and other materials, and a large amount of private journals and correspondence due to the hearty co-operation of brother officers. Mr. Low is almost needlessly apologetic as regards his fitness for the office of historian, and the literary quality of the volumes which he has to offer to the public. If in any degree falling short of the high literary standard set by those who are known as the great masters of Indian history, he is second to none in untiring industry and conscientious regard for truth.

Passing over the early voyages of the East India Company's ships, we may fix as the first point in the career of the Indian navy the formation of a local marine at Surat. In the year 1609, when only six years of the original fifteen granted by King James's charter remained unexpired, the opposition of the Portuguese at Surat made it necessary for the Company's ships to be prepared to meet force with force; and accordingly three vessels were fitted out under the command of Sir Henry Middleton, who unluckily ran his flag-ship aground at Mocho, was detained more than a year by the Arabs, and after reaching Surat withdrew under the advice of both the native and the English merchants, and drove a kind of filibustering trade in the Red Sea. In this he was joined the next year by Captain John Saris, who was sent out with three more vessels to protect the Indian trade. To Captain Hippon, who was despatched about the same time in a single ship, the *Globe*, belongs the honour of having founded those factories in the Bay of Bengal which developed into the magnificent Presidencies of Calcutta and Madras. The victory of Captain Best over the Portuguese fleet in the roadstead of Surat, October 29, 1612, which

\* *History of the Indian Navy (1613-1863)*. By Charles Rathbone Low, Lieutenant (late) Indian Navy, F.R.G.S. &c. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1877.



two years later was eclipsed by the daring operations of Captain Downton, followed up by dashing exploits in the Persian Gulf, crowned by the capture of Ormuz, disposed of all fear of Portuguese ascendancy in the East, and firmly established the Company's trading privileges. In 1615 a local marine force of ten grabs and galivats was established, which, added to the small home squadron, formed the nucleus of the future navy of the Company. The right of trial by common and martial law, as in the Royal service, was in 1624 conceded to the Company's commanders and agents abroad, to which was added that of building forts for the security of their trade, the earliest of these being that of Fort St. George at Madras, erected in 1640. The acquisition of Bombay in 1668 gave the Company a valuable port and naval station, their service—thenceforth known as the Bombay Marine—now amounting to a respectable fleet, which was not long in distinguishing itself in the defence of Surat and Bombay against the Maharrattas, as well as in repelling the threatened attack of the Dutch in 1672. On the pacification which ensued, the Company's ships were entrusted with the police of the Southern Indian seas, the protection of the Red Sea being assigned to the Dutch, and that of the Persian Gulf to the French. The suppression of piracy became from the first one of the prominent duties of the service; and no slight portion of Mr. Low's elaborate history is taken up with the toils and hardships gone through in this exacting task. Surat, where the larger vessels had originally been constructed under native foremen, gave place in 1735 to Bombay as the depot for building purposes, teak, the most durable of known woods, being the timber principally employed. In a report written twenty years later, the ships here built are spoken of as being not only as strong, but as handsome and as well finished, as ships in any part of Europe. The Company's fleet then numbered more than twenty vessels, one of them, the *Revenge*, mounting twenty-eight guns, twenty of which were twelve-pounders. This fine frigate was lost, with all hands, in a terrific gale, April 20, 1782, after having done good service in the war with France and Hyder Ally. In the reduction of Pondicherry, August 23, 1793, the capture of Ceylon in 1795, and the attack upon the Dutch in the Moluccas in 1801, the services of the Bombay marine were of the utmost value; nor were they less conspicuous in the taking of Mauritius in 1809, although unfairly passed over in the official report of Admiral Bertie, and in the pages of James's *Naval History*. Greater justice was done by the handsome recognition of its services in the reduction of Java in 1811, in the attack upon Mocha in 1820, and in the operations against the Joasmi pirates in the Persian Gulf, who from the year 1797 had given unintermitting trouble to the protective cruisers of the Company. The Burmese war, from 1824 to 1826, gave occasion to many a brilliant display of skill and valour, for which the thanks of the Directors and of both Houses of Parliament were tendered at the conclusion of peace. Remodelled after much controversy under the charge of Sir Charles Malcolm, brother to the Governor-General, as Superintendent, the service, spoken of by its historian as "friendless in Leadenhall Street, and neglected in India," was constituted as a marine corps with the title of the Indian Navy, under an order dated May 1, 1830. Mr. Low's first volume closes with a list of the officers and ships forming at that time the strength of the establishment.

This era in the history of British India is made memorable by the practical realization of the Overland Route. This line of communication, which entered into the far-seeing projects of the First Napoleon, had been kept in contemplation by many a British statesman, and had been effected by not a few men of spirit and enterprise. Long before the energy and vigour of Lieutenant Waghorn had given to the scheme its practical outline and organization, Mr. Low's pages trace the tentative attempts which led to the final adoption of this important substitute for the tedious Cape passage. Lord Wellesley, before the close of the last century, had a line of the Company's cruisers running fortnightly between Bombay and Bussorah, from which port letters were carried on by dromedary-dawk through Aleppo to Constantinople. Tidings of the victory of the Nile were sent by Nelson to the Bombay Government by way of Bagdad and Bussorah. We note by the way a curious fact, communicated to Mr. Low on high authority, that the future naval hero, then in embarrassed circumstances, had some years before this period been a candidate for the appointment of Superintendent of the Bombay Marine. Not a few officers, from the year 1809 onwards, made their way to and from India by the Red Sea *via* Cossier, including Sir Hudson Lowe. Sir John Malcolm came home by it in 1821. A definite proposal for a line of communication by that route was made by Mount-stuart Elphinstone as early as 1823, and renewed in 1826, but rejected by the Court. In the year 1830, Lieutenant Waghorn, after reaching Bombay by the Red Sea route, was found still to uphold at a public meeting the route by the Cape, in preference to that by the Red Sea advocated by Mr. Taylor; nor was it until the success of Commander Wilson's experimental trip in the *Hugh Lindsay* to Suez and back in the spring of the same year brought assurance to his mind that he threw his undivided energy into the advocacy of the overland passage. A Committee of the House of Commons having in the year 1834 formally reported in its favour, a regular mail service was at length organized by means of the Company's steam flotilla, which was destined to pass ultimately into the hands of the enterprising Peninsular and Oriental Company. Mr. Low is justified in claiming for the Indian navy, in the person of its energetic representative, Commander Wilson, the practical initiation of this important line of ocean communication. The degradation of the service from a war marine to the mere transport of passengers and letters is

bitterly deplored by our author, as involving laxity of discipline, together with the loss of the high tone peculiar to a war service, and leading by successive downward steps to ultimate extinction. More than once its abolition or its conversion into a mere packet service came before the Board of Directors. Some revival accompanied its reconstruction as a steam service in 1839, old hands being weeded out and new regulations brought into play under Captain Oliver, an excellent seaman, though too much of the old Benbow school for the adaptation of such a service to the scientific requirements of the day. He was succeeded early in 1849 by Commodore Lushington, in all respects a most efficient officer, who after three years gave way to Sir Henry Leake, under whom the naval expedition which ended in the reduction of Burmah was ably planned and carried out, followed up by no less successful operations in the war with Persia in 1856-7. The latest and not the least brilliant of the warlike services of the Indian navy was that rendered by the detachment which, after aiding in the suppression of panic in Calcutta, pushed up the country to the relief of our beleaguered countrymen at many an outlying station, as at Dacca, Sylhet, Chota Nagpore, Buxar, and elsewhere. It forms a just cause of complaint on the part of our author that, whilst the services of the Royal Naval Brigade under Sir W. Peel received their due meed of official thanks and praise, not a word of recognition was vouchsafed either by Parliament or the Court of Directors to the ability and bravery so conspicuously displayed by the officers and men of the Company's naval force. Not an officer of the service has ever been honoured with knighthood or with a military order. Until the final hauling down of the flag in Bombay harbour at noon of the 30th of April, 1863, its duties, faithfully, zealously, and often brilliantly discharged, brought with them little more reward than that which is proverbially said to be conferred by virtue upon itself.

Where the Indian navy has reared to itself a monument more durable and precious than public thanks or fame is in the important field of marine surveying. Its band of skilled officers, second to none that the Imperial service of any country has reared up, has given to the world a body of charts the value of which it is impossible to overstate. The hydrography of the Indian coasts and seas, dating from the enlightened rule of Sir Charles Malcolm, has been carried to a degree of perfection which is beyond all proportion to the slenderness of the means under command. Among the most notable are the surveys of the Red Sea by Elwon and Moresby, those of Mesopotamia by Lynch, Campbell, and Felix Jones, those of the Orcomandel coast by Lloyd and Fell, those of the south-east coast of Arabia by Haines and Sanders, with the more recent charts of the Persian Gulf by Constable and Stiffe, and those of the Kattywar and Malabar coasts by Commander Dundas Taylor. To the last-named officer our maritime interests are indebted for the *Wind and Current Charts* which give so much security to the navigation of the Indian seas, and, above all, for the *Sailing Directory*, founded upon Horsburgh, to the value of which attention was drawn in our columns of April 18, 1874. To the impression produced by his memorandum on the existing state and deficiencies of the Indian marine surveys, seconded by the able advocacy of Mr. Clements Markham and Mr. Trelawny Saunders, was due the seasonable establishment, four years ago, of a special department of that nature at Calcutta, of which Commander Taylor was made superintendent, with a staff of well-chosen assistants. The Government of India will have no cause, Mr. Low predicts, to grudge the modest annual expenditure of two lacs of rupees to which the prosecution of marine surveys is limited. The only cause for misgiving lies in the disposition manifested in certain quarters of the Presidential Government to hamper the independence and efficiency of the scientific staff by subordinating it to the interests or the authority of the trade or transport department. Now that the spirit of the starved and defunct service may be said to live and speak once more in this all-important sphere of its old labours, it would be the height of unwisdom to revive the bygone policy of systematic repression, official coldness, and neglect. Mr. Low's volumes furnish throughout an eloquent and earnest protest against a system of ill-treatment which ate out the heart and brought about the death of the Indian navy.

#### PARKER'S ROMAN TOMBS AND SCULPTURE.\*

THE second title-page to the present volume describes its several subjects more at length. They are "Tombs in and near Rome," "Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans," "Mythology in Funereal Sculpture," and "Early Christian Sculpture." According to this title-page, all these subjects would appear to form one volume; yet we are, as usual in Mr. Parker's volumes, confused by the eccentricities of the paging. We have preface, contents, text, appendix, plates, then more preface, contents, text, and appendix, with another paging. An index of course would be impossible. A large part of this volume is not Mr. Parker's own, but has been furnished to him by various writers, Mr. Parker keeping himself chiefly to the tombs. This part is, we think, one of the best which he has yet given us. Tombs of ascertained persons with ascertained dates give less opportunity than some other parts of the subject for wild speculations and misreadings of history and chronology. Mr. Parker gives us a good

\* *The Archaeology of Rome*. By John Henry Parker, C.B. Part IX. Tombs in and near Rome. Part X. Sculpture. Oxford: James Parker & Co. London: John Murray. 1877.

straightforward list of the chief tombs in and about Rome with photographs. We see our old friends the Baker Eurysaces, Caius Cestius, Romulus son of Maxentius, and others less familiar, together with the new and important discovery of the tomb of T. Statilius Taurus. The Columbaria of course come in, and the tomb of the Scipios. Somehow we miss Cæcilia Metella. All this, with the descriptions and plates, is sensible and straightforward, though of course some of Mr. Parker's eccentricities thrust themselves in now and then. A very interesting notice is that of the tombs of the Imperial freedmen and servants. About them Mr. Parker gives some extracts from Dr. Lightfoot which really make it not at all unlikely that we have here the burial-place—if that is the right word for a collection of urns—of several of the persons whom St. Paul greets in his Epistle to the Romans. One of these lies just within the Porta Appia, that is just within the walls of Aurelian. On this Mr. Parker makes the following incomprehensible remark:—

This was within THE CITY of the third century, when the Wall of Aurelian was built to enclose the NEW CITY, upon what had previously been the *manica* or outer boundary of ROME, though not of THE CITY.

THE CITY, thus honoured with capitals, appears several times in the present volume; and we believe that this talk about *manica* has something to do with Mr. Parker's strange notion of an earlier fortification on the line of the walls of Aurelian. But, even if we accept this theory, what can be the meaning of this marked distinction between ROME and THE CITY? And why is it brought in with this special solemnity on the mention of this particular Columbarium? "Urbs Roma" is a familiar formula enough; but it would seem from Mr. Parker that a divorce took place some time or other between its component parts, and we can only guess that the separation was made "Julio et Cæsare coss." In another notice of this same Columbarium we are told that the inscriptions "indicate persons belonging to the household of the Cæsars, or Emperors; this name more especially belongs to the family of Augustus Cæsar and the Emperors of the first century, to which period this tomb belongs, but the name of Cæsar was long retained as synonymous with Emperor." It is really hard to see why this grotesque mixture of truth and error should have been thrust in to illustrate these particular urns. But things become more serious when we get to the tomb of the Scipios. What can Mr. Parker mean by saying that "it is well known that the Scipios prided themselves on their early Etruscan origin," and that the famous epitaph of Lucius Barbatus is "half Etruscan" in its language? Truly a great deal of difficulty and controversy might have been saved to the world if scholars in general had only been as familiar with the Etruscan language as Mr. Parker seems to be. We suppose that we may still say that no one can understand the Etruscan inscriptions; certainly no one can construe them off as any one who has learned Latin can construe off this bit of certainly antiquated, but still quite intelligible, Latin. And yet, according to Mr. Parker, this inscription is "half Etruscan." Perhaps, if we were to go back to the hymn of the Frates Arvales, Mr. Parker might pronounce that to be wholly Etruscan. But we are throughout thankful for the photographs, especially for those of the newly-discovered tomb of Statilius Taurus. This is one of the painted tombs, rich with a whole series of paintings representing "the foundation of Rome according to the ideas prevalent in the time of Julius Cæsar and Augustus." There is a most living picture of the building of the walls of Lavinium. So at least Mr. Parker argues; but part of the evidence is odd. Over one of the figures is a name of which all has perished but the first letter. That first letter is E, and Mr. Parker argues that the name was ENÆAS. We look to the table of Errata, but we get no help; so we are driven to ask whether Mr. Parker has really found this odd spelling anywhere. Anyhow the picture gives a most vivid scene of men building a wall with large well-hewn blocks. There is also a beautiful picture of a shepherd with two sheep. On this Mr. Parker makes another of his incomprehensible comments:—

It shows the state of the fine arts at the time when Virgil wrote the *Æneid*, which is more in advance than had commonly been supposed. The idea usually held is that such good art was never found before the time of Augustus, and that the fine arts made great progress during his long and peaceful reign. There is little doubt that this idea is generally correct, and that the present excellent drawing is really exceptional at that early period of Roman art. At the same time, it must be remembered that the drawing is in the tombs of the Etruscans, or of the Italo-Greek period long before his time, is often very good.

The chronology here is beyond us. The exact date which Mr. Parker gives to the tomb is B.C. 30. One might therefore fancy that Mr. Parker meant to draw a distinction between "the time of Augustus" and a time which was only that of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. But how does this agree with the reference to Virgil and the *Æneid*, which, it would seem, Mr. Parker places "before the time of Augustus" and in an "early period of Roman art"? Somehow we have a remembrance of the words "Augustus Cæsar, Divom genus" occurring in the *Æneid* itself.

Other examples of painted tombs are given, and these naturally lead the way to the discourses by various writers which form the latter part of the volume. They are introduced by a characteristic preface by Mr. Parker, in which he tells us:—"In this, as in some other branches of the subject, I have felt conscious of my own want of sufficient information to presume to teach others; but I have the advantage of a very large acquaintance, and of knowing the persons who are the best masters of each subject." It is therefore a little unlucky that Mr. Parker has never applied to those of his friends who are the best masters of the Latin tongue

and of Roman history—to say nothing of comparative mythology—to explain to him the most elementary truths with regard to those subjects. Perhaps, however, the best masters of those subjects might belong to the unhappy class of scholars whom Mr. Parker holds in such sovereign contempt. Some of them might even be found among the "compilers" of "classical dictionaries" (Dr. Smith perhaps and his fellow-workers) who, "not being archaeologists"—we have never yet quite found out what an archaeologist is—"have fallen into extraordinary blunders." However, the scholars, as a body, come in for it in another part of the preface:—

Scholars of all parts of the world may say that there is no use in telling them about the history of Sculpture, without showing them the objects described; but this work is intended to be accompanied by the photographs that have been taken in connection with it, and one of the first principles of archaeology is that it can only be understood by the eye, words do not convey a sufficiently definite meaning, and no engravings can be depended upon for details; the minute accuracy of the photograph is absolutely necessary for the study of art.

It is hard to guess who are the scholars into whose mouth Mr. Parker puts this very odd complaint; nor is it quite easy to see whether Mr. Parker looks on the complaint itself as just or unjust. But we gather from what follows that he refers, not to the photographs in the book, but to the separate collection of photographs about which he is always talking. These, it seems, may be seen in London, Oxford, and Liverpool, in America at Boston, and in Germany at several places not named. What is to become of students in less fortunate places, say Cambridge, Edinburgh, New York, and seemingly Rome and Athens themselves, we are not told. To them, it would seem, all study of the history of sculpture is forbidden, except so far as some of them have the advantage of being able to see the originals.

Next comes the essay on "Sculpture among the Greeks and Romans, by Cavaliere Visconti." The Cavaliere is a man of large faith, who believes in "Dedalus," and places him about 1230 B.C. He is however inclined to think that sculpture was invented by the Jews, quoting "the idols of Laban's house," though Laban certainly was not in any sense a Jew. There surely never was seen such wild spelling as that of nearly every Greek and Latin name which appears in this essay. Some are corrected in the Errata. They look as if Cavaliere Visconti had written in Italian and had naturally used the Italian forms, and as if his essay had been translated by some illiterate person who could not turn "Dedalo" into either "Dædalus" or "Daidalos," and who was fairly puzzled by the word "criselefantina," which it is not very hard to translate back again from Italian into Greek. Still we cannot understand how any spelling in any language can have led to such a monstrous being as "Apollo Cytheredos." The Cavaliere or his translator must surely have mixed up Apollo and his *kithara* with Aphrodite and the island of *Kythira*. The Cavaliere's notions of Greek chronology are of the very oddest:—

Diodorus Siculus remarks that Phidias lived at an epoch favourable to the development of his talent, as that time the expedition of Xerxes against the Greeks had procured for them honours and riches. The happy age in which Phidias lived saw also the birth of the great philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; the oratorical school of Isocrates, and the renowned generals Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, and Cimon.

This almost equals the chronology of a certain Major Porter who began a History of the Knights of Malta—of all subjects—with the announcement that the arts of Greece were brought from Persia by the conquests of Alexander. The oddest thing of all perhaps is that in some statues of the time of Hadrian "the hair is more laboured, as if bored with an augur." We know not why the hair should be specially affected; but the question at once suggests itself whether augurs, who we know were so merry when they met one another, always insisted on boring the lay public with the exoteric details of their mysterious art.

It might be a fair question whether we had any right to look for a general treatise on Greek, or even on Roman sculpture, in a book on the Archaeology of Rome. But if the history of Greek art is to be traced out at all, it should surely be done in a more intelligent way than is done by Cavaliere Visconti. He begins with a long period, a very long period indeed, from B.C. 1230 to B.C. 440. This is, as its early specimens well may be, the period of the Archaic style. But we hear of nothing earlier than the sculptures from Aigina, which "belong to a period not very remote from the Sublime style." Now surely the Mykenian lions, the grotesque—doubtless not intentionally grotesque—metopes from Egæta, the figures at Athens of Aristion and of Theseus, or whoever it is that carries the bull, may all safely be placed between B.C. 1230 and B.C. 440, and surely they tell us more about early Greek art than any talk about either Daidalos or Laban. And in some mysterious way, though the first period ends with B.C. 440, the second begins with the expulsion of the "Pisistratides." Aristion and the bull-bearer would then be sent into the second period, though the dates place them in the first. Cavaliere Visconti seems to have no notion of their importance. The figure of Aristion cannot be more than forty years older than the first sculptures of the Parthenon. But what a gap between the two! The great artistic fact of this time is the sudden leap which Greek sculpture took in the middle of the fifth century B.C., just like the leap which English sculpture took at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. All this has certainly nothing to do with the Archaeology of Rome; but we might have looked for something about it in a treatise on Greek sculpture so exhaustive as to begin with discussing the "earliest definition of sculpture."



After the Italian Cavaliere follows the Rev. C. W. Jones, who is a little too mystical for our understanding. Only what is to be made of such stuff as this?—

Before leaving these boar-hunting subjects, your attention should be called to a singular instance in which the Roman treatment managed to vulgarize the Greek legends which it had adopted; I refer to the monument erected to the memory of the lamented Mr. Wildbore, architect and surveyor. It is represented in one of the photographs, No. 1021, the original of which is in the Capitoline Museum.

His grieving relations could not resist the temptation to a pun which his name Aper (wild boar) supplied, but carved a dead boar at his feet, and wrote him a doggerel epitaph in heroic verse.

Then follow five lines in English, beginning "Here harmless Wildbore lies." We suppose that all this is Mr. Jones's fun, that the inscription is really in Latin, and that the man's name, like him whom Diocletian slew, was Aper. From either the Cavaliere or the English clergyman it is a relief to turn to Professor Westwood, who deals with the Early Christian sculptures. There is no nonsense about him. He goes on through his work in a straightforward and businesslike way, and illustrates his sarcophagi and his consular diptychs, if not always with full consciousness of their historical bearings, at any rate without either blunders or twaddle. All Professor Westwood's part is really valuable; it would be paying it a poor compliment to say that it is the best thing in the book. Here too we are puzzled now and then by references to the photographs which are only to be seen in London, Oxford, Liverpool, and Boston; but we have a very valuable selection in the book itself. The grand sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, of which we so happily know the date, is among them.

We look back, and we find a paper on Fresco Paintings on Tombs, by Mr. Tyrwhitt of Christ Church, hidden in an appendix in the middle of the volume. This sentence contains an important truth, perhaps a little too strongly put:—

Before Constantine, Roman means of the City of the Tiber; after him, it means of the City of the Bosphorus; and to this day in Russia and the East, Rome means Constantinople, and Constantinople is The City.

Most true; but what is to be made of the note, in the letters, accents, and marks of elision here following?—

Stamboul's τῆν βολεῖν βολεῖν, in the Tartar-Greek of her invaders.

#### A YOUNG WIFE'S STORY.\*

THE *Young Wife's Story* is as slight as can be conceived, though scarcely so short as could be desired. Its author seems to be rather barren of experiences and not very largely gifted with imagination. Such merits as it has are mainly negative, and it is simply somewhat uninteresting. There is little to take exception to in the style; the moral tendency is altogether beyond reproach; and every here and there some sound religious doctrine is dragged in by the head and shoulders. But, although the young wife has our languid sympathies, with the best will in the world we cannot feel deeply interested in her. The author seems to have an uneasy consciousness of this, and once makes an effort to waken us up. But her solitary attempt at a sensational episode, although very well intended, is by no means successful. Mrs. Victor Demarcey is made the instrument under Providence of anticipating a burglary which she fails to prevent. It must be owned that the trivial inferences by which her suspicions were awakened did no little credit to her acuteness. In broad daylight she met a couple of men carrying a couple of sacks. She did not much like their looks, and they evidently reciprocated her repugnance. She was out of spirits and inclined to be hipped, so on subsequent reflection the idea flashed upon her that they could not possibly be after any good. Hurriedly raising a superstructure of theory on that impression, she decided that they were meditating a deed of darkness, and she further made up her mind as to the identical house they had designs upon. As it turned out, her intuitive perceptions were right in the main, although unfortunately they carried her wide of the mark. It was the very house she lived in that was the destined object of attack, and she stripped it of its most able-bodied defenders by sending them off on a fool's errand. The odd thing was that these stranger ruffians seemed to have enlisted the neighbourhood as the accomplices of their crime. When Mrs. Demarcey met the men she had lost her way, though within a short stroll of her own house. She first calls at a cottage where the people are in the secret, and is thence marched off to a public-house in an adjoining village where the very respectable-looking landlady puts her under lock and key. Suddenly she has a happy thought. She opens the window and escapes. Though the people had had the audacity to lock up the lady of the great house in their neighbourhood, they neglected the ordinary precaution of setting any watch upon her movements. And it is strange, too, that when she reached her home at last and burst forth with the wonderful and incoherent tale that was further confused by her intense agitation, she should have succeeded in alarming her relatives and persuading them to rush forth on a burglar hunt. However, nothing worse came of her weakening the garrison than the loss of some valuable family jewelry, which the assailants succeeded in laying their hands on and carrying off, notwithstanding their being interrupted and drawing a pistol fire.

\* *A Young Wife's Story*. By Harriette Bowra. 3 vols. Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

This odd history has an equally mysterious ending; for, although the robbers left any amount of clues behind them, they escaped scot-free, as well as their accomplices.

But the main interest of the story, such as it is, lies in the heroine's making herself mistress of her husband's affections. Ella Clare is wooed and won off hand by Mr. Victor Demarcey. Mr. Demarcey is a naturalized Englishman of foreign extraction. Having said so much, we may presume that the shrewd reader has a presentiment of the type. Demarcey was "a man in the very noon of life, on whom care seemed to have set its mark, with dark hazel eyes, soft and pleading, with a strange restlessness in them, as if seeking something they could never find. The long fringed eyelids rose and fell, revealing occasionally depths of feeling or a capacity for sentiment, but the ineffable charm of peace was altogether wanting." Further, "a nameless grace and refinement pervaded his whole appearance and manners." Here was a man and a hero to fascinate a romantic young woman; and we can hardly wonder that, when Miss Clare was surprised by a formal written offer of marriage, she was only anxious that the approval of her relations should confirm the sympathetic pleadings of her heart. If she deluded herself, her disenchantment begins early. Her husband is as gentle and courteous as his looks implied; but she shrinks back from him in sensitive modesty when she finds how coldly he meets her impulsive advances. Arrived at her future home, her doubts and anxieties are multiplied. All the domestic arrangements are in the most sumptuous style, and she has made a far grander marriage than she had imagined. But the atmosphere of stately formality freezes her warm temperament; and she finds herself isolated and despondent among her new surroundings. The children of her husband by a former marriage are set against her by their jealous nurse. The mother and sister of Victor's dead wife naturally regard her as an unwelcome intruder. The real master of the establishment is the stiff and exacting Colonel Demarcey, who pensions her husband, pays her dressmaker's bills, and, in short, maintains the young couple on condition of their absolute subservience. Above all, she discovers, to her grief and horror, that her husband has married her because his uncle ordered him to marry; that he is wedded to the memory of his departed wife, and has no heart to spare for the successor. Ella's naturally sweet temper is soured, as the love that she was ready to lavish seems rejected. She learns that the duties she has to discharge are really to the exacting old Colonel, who requisitions her time and her services as reader and secretary. And what shocks her terribly and makes her new home most horrible is the knowledge that the veteran is a hardened freethinker, who has succeeded in shaking the belief of his attached old personal attendant. What interest there is in the story is concentrated in her struggles and worries. Though her spirit is saddened and irritated, it is not crushed; and she brings light and love out of the darkness in the end by resolutely asserting her independence. This part of her story is far from being badly told, although it is sometimes prolix and too frequently repeats itself. She has many skirmishes with the Colonel, and one or two pitched battles; but, though he sulks and chafes under defeat, he respects her for carrying off the honours of victory. At one time things appear to be coming to a crisis. In a moment of vindictiveness he sends for his lawyer, with the professed intention of altering his will. She reproaches herself bitterly for having made shipwreck of her husband's hopes and disinherited his darling children. She lowers her pride so far as to strive to prevail on the Colonel to reconsider his decision, and is delighted to think she has succeeded. After his death, there is really a telling scene at the reading of the will. It turns out that the old Colonel has been far more grateful to her than she had wished, and has bequeathed to her his property in life-rent, and then to her heirs in place of her husband and his children. Her worst grief is that the unlooked-for disappointment and suspicion of her good faith may raise impassable barriers between her and Demarcey, just as she was on the eve of gaining his affections. Happily, it turns out otherwise. He has been learning to appreciate her more justly than she had fancied, and in this most embarrassing crisis he does her full justice. They come to a frank understanding once and for all to live ever afterwards in love and harmony. And they are knitted together more firmly than they would have otherwise been by the loss and recovery of his cherished boy, who has been washed out to sea in a most marvellous manner, to be traced by his stepmother and the French police.

There is nothing better in the book than the delineation of Ella's character, and that is a very great point in its favour, since the various interests converge in her. A mere girl, brought up in a happy home, although her future as well as her present depends on the kindness of her relations, she knows little of herself or of her own mind when she meets Victor Demarcey. The arrival of this distinguished stranger in their quiet village excites her, and she is flattered into a sense of affection by the compliment conveyed in his offer. She knows it is a good thing from a worldly point of view, and that it will relieve her generous relations; she never dreams of doubting his love, and she is confident that it must beget love in return. Then comes the reaction. Listening involuntarily from the window, at her new home, she overhears a conversation which tells her how lamentably she has been deceived. The shock is the more severe that she was beginning sincerely to love her husband. Her resentment is proportionate, and she seldom misses an opportunity of doing an unkind thing or saying a bitter thing, although in wounding Victor she lacerates herself. His courteous gentleness

aggravates her wretchedness. She may hurt him, but she cannot possibly provoke him. If he committed a crime in marrying her under false pretences, at all events he has resigned himself to expiate it by his submission. Then she has a deal of thankless trouble with his children. She is eager to do her duty by them, if they would only let her; but the girl, though impulsively affectionate, is fickle; and the boy is influenced by a nurse, who prompts him to detest the stepmother. The old Colonel is tyrannizing over her all the time, while heaping upon her all sorts of gifts and civilities, and she is being driven well nigh desperate. But in the circumstances which are apparently destined to overwhelm her, in the misunderstandings which seem likely to sever her from her husband, the veil which divides them gradually drifts aside; and this is managed cleverly and artistically. Our chief grievance is the very common one that the story is most gratuitously spun out. Ella's autobiography might have been very advantageously condensed into one of the three volumes; the author entangles herself in improbabilities whenever she departs from her simple narrative; and several people are introduced seemingly for no better purpose than to drag out the novel to the regulation length.

#### LUMLEY ON BY-LAWS.\*

A MAN who, having special knowledge or experience on any particular subject, admits the public to participation in such knowledge or experience, confers a signal benefit on his fellow-creatures, and is in the position of one who should freely resign the exclusive advantages of a patent right for the welfare of society. There can be few men who know so much about by-laws as the gentleman who fills the office of Counsel to the Local Government Board and the Education Department, two bodies pre-eminently concerned with this species of legislation; and we have therefore reason to feel grateful to Mr. Lumley for undertaking to instruct us as to the nature of this subordinate but most efficient branch of our system of government. With the direct forms of legislation, their advantages and defects, one is familiar; but it needs a book like the present, setting forth the innumerable varieties of circumstance and requirement to which the transmitted force of law can be applied through the instrumentality of by-laws, to make us duly appreciate the wonderful adaptability and convenience of the machinery so provided.

Briefly put, the object attained by the method in question is the enabling competent bodies of persons to make rules having the force of law touching local or other matters with which they are peculiarly conversant, and with which they would be unable effectually to deal for the good of the community unless so endowed with legislative powers. This legislative capacity may arise either from custom, prescription, or direct enactment, the last being naturally the most efficient source, since in this way the Legislature may promptly lend its aid whenever advancing civilization discloses a new need. To quote Mr. Lumley's own definition,

A By Law is a law made with due legal obligation, by some authority less than the Sovereign and Parliament, in respect of a matter specially or impliedly referred to that authority, and not provided for by the general law of the land.

By-laws may be classified, with respect to this legal obligation, under two heads—those which only affect the members of the body by and for which they are enacted, and which are co-extensive for the most part with such as are based on custom or prescription, and those of wider application which bind all persons coming within their local jurisdiction, and are as a rule the product of direct legislation. It is with the latter class that the general public is most concerned, and it is amazing to find how many of the relations of our daily life are influenced more or less directly by their existence. Railways, sanitary authorities, the School Boards, tramways, literary and scientific associations, factories, passenger ships, all have their codes of by-laws; and by their means we reap all the advantages of a paternal Government, without being exposed to the intrusive supervision inseparable from such an institution in its crude form. Other and more substantial benefits arise from the system. In every community there are a host of minor matters as to which legislative restrictions are necessary in order to prevent men from interfering with their neighbours' comfort and well-being; but the nature of these matters varies in each community, and the restrictions which would be suitable for one would, by force of circumstances, be too strict or too lax for another. A hard and fast rule would therefore work injustice in many cases, while to legislate separately for each community would entail an infinity of labour on the already heavily taxed Legislature. Moreover, Parliament would not be the most fitting body to decide on the exact form of Act suited to the needs of, say, a remote watering-place just dignified with the possession of a Local Board. It would have to acquaint itself, by means of a Committee, with the circumstances of the case through the medium of third persons, many of whom would proffer contradictory statements or opinions. There is on the spot, however, a body to which the interests of the place are well known and may be safely entrusted; and a modified

system of Home Rule is, no doubt, the best remedy for any existing grievances. It is in circumstances like this, where several communities express similar wants, that Parliament will pass a sort of general Act sketching out the type of by-laws which may be promulgated in places and by bodies described in the Act, but leaving the details to be filled in and moulded in such by-laws, according to the exigencies of each case, and it is thus that the majority of by-laws take their origin. Or it may be that the need for legislation arises with respect to a particular trade, either in the interest of the trade itself, or in that of persons liable to be injuriously affected by it; and, again, Parliament is ready to afford powers for its due control.

By-laws springing from custom or prescription are mostly such as obtain in municipal corporations or trade guilds; while again another class exist, hardly referable to either of the authorities above mentioned, nor falling clearly within Mr. Lumley's definition, but deriving their cogency from the consent, express or implied, of those who put themselves in a position to be affected by them. Such are the by-laws or rules of a club, to which the Courts have recently accorded recognition by refusing to entertain an appeal from a sentence of expulsion pronounced on a member in conformity therewith. Naturally those by-laws which derive their authority from custom or prescription are quaint and archaic in their nature. Mr. Lumley quotes as examples (p. 129) sundry by-laws made by the Council of the City of London, by virtue of their customary right to govern the different Companies of trades in the City, to the effect that the Cobblers should not vamp boots nor make goloshes, but only the Shoemakers; that the Arrow-makers should not make bows, nor the Bowyers arrows; and that the Brown-Bread Bakers should not bake White Bread.

To revert to that larger class of by-laws which are made under statutory authority, perhaps those regulating the traffic upon railways are the most universally known. Statute 8 and 9 Vict. cap. 20 is the enabling Act whereby Railway Companies are empowered to make the by-laws necessary for the convenient working of their lines; and under its provisions, supplemented in each case by those of the Company's special Act, are issued those codes of by-laws which one sees affixed at stations, and which are supposed to govern the conduct of the passengers. A curious question has arisen with regard to one of the commonest of railway by-laws, which is to the effect that any one travelling without a ticket shall be liable to pay the full fare from the place whence the train starts, irrespectively of the actual distance he has travelled. Now the Act above mentioned imposes a pecuniary penalty on persons travelling without a ticket with intent to defraud, and it therefore appears clear, as stated by Mr. Lumley, that such a by-law, attempting to inflict what is substantially a penalty on the same act, with the important element of the fraudulent intention omitted, is in contravention of the spirit of this specific portion of the statute law, and is therefore void. Railway Companies are, however, at liberty to circumvent this difficulty by attaching the penalty to the omission to produce the ticket, which, by a legal subtlety not very easily justified, has been held not to be the same thing as travelling without one. Another very important instance of by-law legislation under statutory powers pointed out by Mr. Lumley is afforded by the rules of practice drawn up by the Judges under the Judicature Acts, and regulating the whole procedure of the High Court of Justice. It is manifest that the framing and remodelling of such regulations are far most effectually accomplished by entrusting the task to those who will have to work under the system so constituted; and experience has shown this to be the case. The frequent alterations and additions which the exigencies of business demonstrate as being required would, but for such power, render necessary innumerable applications to Parliament, and would, moreover, tend to cast discredit on the legal machinery of the country by drawing public attention to its defects, which might be supposed to be more serious than they are in reality, besides occasioning vexatious delay.

The arrangement of Mr. Lumley's work appears to us peculiarly good, one branch of the subject following another in due sequence of derivation and importance, so that the reader is gradually and naturally led to a full understanding of what he has set himself to learn. The division and subdivision of the chapters is orderly and intelligent, complicated parts of the subject being treated first in the form of brief didactic propositions, which are afterwards expanded and proved by authority. Thus, in Chapter IV. "Of the Properties of By Laws," we find their peculiar attributes shortly stated, as that they must be consistent with, and not repugnant to, the general law, must provide something in addition to and not merely re-enact that law, must prescribe a definite penalty for any breach, and so forth; and each of these heads is then treated separately and more fully, with due reference to the Acts and cases bearing thereon. Preceding this chapter are others on the authority for making the by-law, and how it is to be made; and following it are chapters on the confirmation, publication, construction, and enforcing of by-laws respectively. An appendix contains a valuable selection of model forms of by-laws prepared by such public departments as the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board, with the aid of which no body having the power to frame by-laws need be at a loss as to the proper manner of carrying out its task.

Mr. Lumley in his preface takes occasion to correct what a recent decision has shown to be a mistake in his text. In treating at p. 97 of the certainty which is a necessary characteristic of a valid by-law, he states that "as the by law must be certain in all respects, it must be so in regard to the

\* *An Essay on By Laws; with an Appendix containing Model By Laws issued by the Board of Trade, the Education Department, and the Local Government Board.* By W. G. Lumley, Esq., LL.M., Q.C., Counsel to the Local Government Board and the Education Department. London: Knight & Co., and W. Maxwell & Son. 1877.



penalty"; and he interprets this principle so strictly as to suggest both in this place and at p. 86 that the by-law ought to affix a definite specified monetary penalty to any breach of its provisions. But in the case of *Brown v. the Great Eastern Railway Company*, to which Mr. Lumley refers in his preface, the Queen's Bench Division lately took a more liberal view of the doctrine, and, acting on the maxim that "id certum est quod certum reddi potest," decided that the exaction of payment of the full fare from the place whence a train started was a sufficiently ascertained penalty for a breach of one of the Company's by-laws, which decision has necessitated a modification of Mr. Lumley's original statement.

We have hitherto spoken of by-laws as if they came immediately into force on being drawn up by the proper authority; but, in the case of the large majority made under statutory powers, the enabling Act almost invariably contains provision for their supervision and confirmation by some higher authority accustomed to deal with the subjects to which they are directed, before they can acquire the force of law. This supervision is exercised with regard to various classes of by-laws by the Home Secretary, the Board of Trade, the Education Department, the Queen in Council, and such-like functionaries. Special methods of publication are also usually enjoined, in order that persons may not transgress through ignorance.

The legal decisions on by-laws have not been very numerous, considering the antiquity of the institution, and have been chiefly directed to the question of their reasonableness or to some dubious point in their construction or interpretation. Mr. Lumley finds a sufficient number, however, to illustrate his text, and appends a full list of the authorities he cites. In the present state of legal literature it is difficult to find a new subject to write upon, and many authors content themselves with going over old ground again, not always so successfully as their predecessors. Mr. Lumley is therefore to be congratulated on having hit upon and ably treated a hitherto almost untouched branch of the law, and one which is also of considerable and daily increasing importance, as may be seen by reference to such Acts as the recent Public Health Act, which utilizes to an unprecedented extent this power of delegating the settlement of details. By-laws will always be a popular method of legislation, inasmuch as the faculty of making them confers a semblance of power upon bodies somewhat prone to be gratified by such access of dignity, while the obligation is less irksome when every man is at liberty to think that he has had some hand, directly or indirectly, in making that which he is called upon to obey.

Mr. Lumley's is a handy little volume, and its moderate cost renders it accessible to all who are interested in the subject, whether as framers or interpreters of by-laws.

#### THE KITCHEN GARDEN.\*

TO judge by a comparison of Mr. Shirley Hibberd's latest volume in his "amateur" series with those previously devoted by him to the flower garden and the greenhouse, and the cultivation of the rose and the fern, it would seem that there is little opening for poetry or sentiment in the topic of the kitchen garden, even when treated in the interest of the adventurous amateur. Instead of the concise, practical, and by no means unamusing manuals which have been devoted to the subject by Mr. Earley and Mr. Hobday, we have here a volume of three hundred pages, needlessly wordy and tedious, and, although doubtless sound in details, unrelieved by any of the anecdotes and bright ideas which enlivened the author's former volumes, particularly his *Amateur's Greenhouse and Conservatory*. Yet we shall find, when we come to speak of Mr. Wood's *Multum in Parvo Gardening*, that the subject has its romantic side after all. It is but fair to say that the promise of Mr. Shirley Hibberd's book is not nearly so high-flown as that of Mr. Wood's, inasmuch as it no more professes to make one acre of land, without glass, produce in fruits and vegetables a clear profit of 620*l.* per annum than it does to treat exhaustively of the topic of the kitchen garden. We can also readily believe that *The Amateur's Kitchen Garden* is correctly described as no mere compilation, but the result of a quarter of a century's work in gardens largely devoted to fruit and vegetable culture for substantial middle-class households.

The opening chapters naturally discuss the formation, tools, appliances, and stocking of the kitchen garden, and this in a cautious and sober-minded spirit, with no love of change for its own sake. Premising that the garden should be rectangular, should slope southwards, be divided into plots by good walks, be well drained and sheltered from north and east, besides having a loamy soil and substantial boundary walls, the author dilates on the advantages of plenty of water and an equable climate. We can pardon the misquotation of the well-known line—

Winter lingering chills the lap of May,

which is here barbarized into

Winter lingers in the lap of spring—

\* *The Amateur's Kitchen Garden, Frame Ground, and Forcing Pit: a Handy Guide.* Illustrated with Coloured Plates and Wood Engravings. By Shirley Hibberd, Author of "The Amateur's Flower Garden," &c. London: Groombridge & Sons. 1877.

*Multum in Parvo Gardening.* In Two Parts. By Samuel Wood, Author of "A Plain Guide to Good Gardening." London: Crosby Lockwood & Co. 1877.

in consideration of sage counsels how to keep out the keen east winds, and to discard cheap substitutes for good brick or stone walls from ten to fourteen feet high with pillars and coping. One omission here is that of all mention of glass coping, which, it cannot be too often reiterated, when used in connexion with tiffany or hemp netting, is one of the greatest boons of modern horticulture to fruit-growers. If you have garden walls, it is wise to do the thing thoroughly and not count the cost too narrowly, especially as it will come back with interest after a year or two. Where a garden has no walls, a live fence of privet, especially the large-leaved privet (*Ligustrum ovalifolium*), is better than thorn or quick, and, if not so impregnable a barrier as holly, at any rate becomes compact in far less time. We pass over the sound advice about drainage, which not the veriest tiro of an amateur should be content to take at second hand, to notice the excellent counsel which the author gives as to growing fruit and vegetables in gardens or plots quite apart from each other, instead of intermixing crooked apple-trees with crops of peas and cabbage and potatoes. The result of the latter process is disturbance of the tree roots, and deficiency of rain and sunshine to the vegetable crops, which fail to compensate for the nourishment they withdraw from the apple-trees. Separation is practicable in the smallest garden, either (1) by putting all the vegetables at one end of it and all the fruit crops at the other, the fruit trees in rows far enough apart, with black currants and raspberries between, red currants and gooseberries on the boundary lines, and the strawberries (an exceptional crop) on a fresh plot every three years among the vegetables; or (2) by planting fruit trees all round the boundary, if not too near the road, putting a walk betwixt this boundary and the graduated range of currant and gooseberry bushes, which form an inner boundary line for the vegetable crop; or (3) by keeping the kitchen garden exclusively for vegetables, and blending fruit trees of all sorts for ornament and use on the lawn and the croquet ground. The plan given in p. 15 represents a simple and profitable arrangement for fruit and vegetables, the fruit trees being all pyramids, and room for thirty-six, fifteen feet apart, being provided on the two south aspect walls. It must have struck many a proprietor who has found himself by inheritance "spatis inclusus iniquis," and with the fields of his tenant coming close up to his garden wall, what a gain it would be to have an outer border enclosed with a good low quickset hedge fieldward, so as to allow, as here recommended, the south aspect to be doubly utilized for wall fruit.

The subject of soils and their improvement and culture, with the judicious application of stable and artificial manures, forms a valuable chapter; and the author lays down good rules about rotation and fallowing, though his experience supplies him with an instance of land cropped with potatoes without a break for thirty years, fairly dug by a field labourer, and fed only with road-scraped manure by his children, yet still yielding as good crops as ever. In discussing gardeners' tools it is sound advice to avoid "fads and gimcracks," such as the "iron wheelbarrow" of p. 25, with which may be coupled the pit-frames with lights that baffle and over-tax the gardener's lifting and reaching powers. As far as our observation goes, there would be less field for these useless inventions were it not for the consoling reflection on the part of gardeners that "Master pays," and for the periodical invasion of touters of the nurserymen; a pest quite as pernicious as any of the insect pests with an enumeration of which Mr. Wood prudently tempers the prospect of enormous profits from his *multum in parvo* gardening. In Mr. Hibberd's list of various pit and frame devices, two of the cheapest, but not least valuable, are the unheated turf pit and the A frame of loose planks, or canvas cover. In the presence or prospect of frost or inclement weather, they are doubtless substitutes for more thorough protection of plants and vegetables; but it may be doubted whether their utility is not for the most part limited to exceptional climates.

The chapter upon "selections for the kitchen garden" enforces forecast in the supply of vegetables in April and May, and dwells on the disappointments of a cold spring. We endorse to the full the advice not to go in exclusively for one sort of potato or pea, but we demur to the theory that "a seed with many names is sure to be good." It would seem a more obvious inference that some seedsmen are rascals, though, if the potato or pea, under a misnomer, proves to be good and prolific, one may fall back complacently on the query "What's in a name?" Not much, it must be allowed, if we consider the awful warning which Mr. Hibberd holds up in the young exhibitor who was doomed everlastingly to miss the prize for peas through his addiction to a variety called the "Superlative," which, though of immense size, was pronounced by the judges to have no quality—that is to say, no flavour. First sorts and crops of peas, we learn, should be manured sparingly, to discourage luxuriant growth. Second early and main crop sorts may be liberally manured at the bottom of the trench; and the best manures are guano, superphosphate, gypsum, and kainit, half a ton to the acre. It is best to sow cabbages and the like between the pea crops to extend the rows, for where they are too close the produce is miserably small, and in the event of drought is sure to get mildewed. In deep, damp soils first and early peas are unprofitable, and it is not well to begin sowing before the middle of February. In an experience of twenty-five years, Mr. Hibberd has only once gathered a dish of peas worth having in May, and this was in the hot, dry spring of 1868. To expedite an early crop without risking exposure to the cold, three plans are propounded—(1) sowing the seed on inverted turves in a frame

or pit, close to the glass, in November, December, and January, and moving them into open and prepared ground within reach of protection in March; (2) sowing in Maw's troughs or boxes, and transferring the ready-made rows to open ground drills; and (3) raising the plants in a cool frame. In the case of beans it is essential not to sow too thickly, and the difficulty is to get men to sow thin enough. The remedy is to go through the rows in spring and pull out half or two-thirds of the crop, as Virgil recommends in the case of pulse, which degenerated in crop

ni vis humana quotannis  
Maxima queque manu legeret.

In the summer culture of beans, topping the plants when in flower is sometimes needed to prevent a glut of a poor quality; but severe topping lowers the vigour of the plant, the leaves of which are its lungs.

A chapter on Brassicas rightly designates Brussels sprouts as the most aristocratic of borecoles, though the author admits that bungling amateurs produce from it buttons far inferior to the average of the London greengrocers' baskets. Each plant ought to yield a dish of sprouts, its distinct cabbage head, and its aftermath of spring sproutings. The amateur is invited to sow as early as may be in summer, and put out the plants in showery weather as soon as possible, or with copious and regular waterings. It is well to plant them out in rows between potato rows arranged four feet apart, so that when the potatoes are dug up, the Brussels sprouts may nearly meet across the rows. Always order, says the author, "genuine imported seed." As to the difference between broccoli and cauliflower, Mr. Hibberd thinks it consists principally in name, and he argues this from the fact of the Walcheren variety being recognized as either one or the other, though he admits that the cauliflower *par excellence* is the perfectly white curdlike variety cut in autumn and winter. Mr. Earley, however, regards the broccoli as the more hardy and certain crop of the two. Their foes are the *club* and caterpillar, the cure for the first being deep digging and manuring, and for the second dusting with tobacco powder. Of sea-kale and asparagus, especially the latter, the routine cultivation is simple. The main requisite is a deep trenched soil, as light and gritty as possible, in a raised bed and open to the sun. A good plantation will stand for twenty years, if deep-dug, and with a stony and gritty staple. It relishes a dressing of salt, but does not require codding, as it is a wild weed on its native sandy seashores, and can thrive in a comparatively poor country. Of artichokes we are told that some epicures hold them an especial dainty, if trimmed, boiled in salt and water, and eaten with oil and vinegar, English sauce, or Holland sauce. Along with asparagus the artichoke is one of the very few vegetables which are recognized as a dish to be eaten by themselves. Full and precise directions are given for that most popular class of vegetables known under the wide term of "saladings." With the help of variety, early sowings, forcing, and what not, it is possible to have salad all the year round, and the reader will find two engravings of watercress in pans and watercress in pots. About the onion the necessary information is diluted with an infusion of irrelevant tall talk. It is well enough to insist on the policy of sowing the onion in summer rather than in early spring, but what on earth was the train of thought that Mr. Hibberd desired, but failed, to shape into sense when he composed this marvellous sentence:—"The three graces of the kitchen garden are the potato, the cabbage, and the onion; and they are also qualified to play the parts of the three strong men, for which performance the potato should be regarded as Atlas, the cabbage as Hercules, and the onion as Milo of Crotona?" The chapter on the potato is disappointing, since it deals but vaguely and unscientifically with the growth of the *Peronospora infestans*, respecting which much might have been culled from the pages of the *Gardener's Chronicle*.

Mr. Wood, as we have said, is rather a hero of garden romance. We may be sure that he would never be found admitting, as Mr. Hibberd does, that he had but once known a dish of peas worth having in May, in a range of a quarter of a century. There is a *Sic volo, sic jubeo* air about his pages, and the reader is reminded of the ladies who dress like ladies on 151. a year, and the hen-wives who feed their poultry and make their eggs and poultry-yards pay, at next to no outlay. Mr. Wood possibly knows how to do it; and his master-touch may ensure a profit of from 620*l.* to 720*l.* per annum from an acre of ground, with no more glass than a small two-light box to hold 1,000 four-inch pots from mid-March to the end of June. But how about the pupils who pin their faith on his directions and prescriptions? How about the sanguine experiment-makers who attempt his plan without having secured his markets for buying and selling, his climate, his prices of mason-work and manual labour, his experience of garden pests, and his modes of getting rid of them? We cannot attempt to quote all his statistics; enough to say that his principle is to intersect his acre of garden ground with 39 low walls of nine-inch brickwork ( $4\frac{1}{2}$  inch brickwork would do, but that the fruit trees on each side of the wall require nailing), each wall four feet high, and six feet apart. The acre comprehends 39 such walls, each of them taking 2,900 bricks, and a calculation of total cost of each wall averaging 5*l.* 7*s.*, which, multiplied by 78 = 417*l.* 6*s.* for bricks, mortar, and labour. It seems doubtful whether these low walls can be supported, as Mr. Wood believes, given hard and firm ground, by one brick deep below the surface; but he allows a margin of 44*l.* for the cost of construction in case of such contingencies as raised borders and

cost of bed-curbing. The total of walls will accommodate 1,100 fruit trees, dwarf-trained and one year old, at 2*s.* each, or, if dwarf maiden trees, 1*s.* 6*d.*—total, 110*l.* or 82*l.* 10*s.* These are to be limited to twelve good varieties, of sorts which Mr. Hibberd and Mr. Rivers, we observe, also generally commend. Mr. Wood warns his reader against deep planting, and against treading in the soil on newly-planted trees, and gives special and exact directions about pruning, cutting, disbudding, and training. Indeed his precision as to the gardening operations may be a caution to the boldest novice, who will have to take the blame on himself if the promised clear profit does not come in its season. At the back of the walls on the north side are to be planted red currants, calculated to yield a paying crop, the borders opposite being manured for potatoes and radishes; whilst, along the narrow north side borders, are to run single rows of free-bearing strawberries. The fruit will be of perhaps the more value for being late. The south wall broad borders are to be planted with early potatoes—the dwarf, dry, hardy, and fine-flavoured "early frame potato" being recommended. Wood's "early frame radish" figures along with these; and at the middle of June dwarf kidney beans are to replace the potatoes and radishes. The interspaces between the trained wall fruit are allotted to tomato-growing. An alternative crop for the single rows of strawberries in the north borders is that of seedling *auricularis* for seed—a more profitable crop, involving less care, watering, and replenishing. It is calculated that the total amount of first outlay is 623*l.* 2*s.* and the annual cost of labour, materials, and seed, 129*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* The total amount of produce sold per annum is estimated at 753*l.* 10*s.* We may add that a scheme of Multum in Parvo Flower Gardening occupies the second part of Mr. Wood's volume; but, as it is limited to three greenhouses, with one heating arrangement, devoted respectively to the growth of *Primula sinensis* fimbriata, *Cinerarias*, and fine *Fuchsias*, it would seem that the profit of the flower garden is not accompanied with much variety. It is obvious that the whole scheme presupposes unerring experience, ceaseless vigilance, and skilled management.

#### MINOR TALES.\*

MR. MURRAY lays the scene of his tales among the woods, lakes, and rivers of North America. Who has not wandered as a boy through those woods and along the shores of those lakes and rivers with Fenimore Cooper and the Last of the Mohicans? Those scenes of Western life are still dear to us. We are not holders of United States stock. We are not troubled by any love of the West for "soft money." We have not ceased to believe that noble savages are still running through its distant woods, in league with backwoodsmen as guileless as they are simple. It is years since we last read one of Cooper's tales, yet we cannot but think that our youthful admiration of him must have been to a great extent justified, so vivid is the impression of American scenery which he has left on the mind. The great forest, the wide prairie, the river, the lake, all rise before us as if we had really seen them in our childhood, and could at will bring them again before us by our memory, and our memory alone. But Cooper and writers of his class are things of the past. A new generation has arisen—a generation with a taste, and a very peculiar taste, of its own. Descriptions of scenery abound more than ever, but the scenery that is now described belongs neither to the heavens above, nor to the earth beneath, nor to the waters under the earth. In this generation Mr. Murray deserves to hold a high place. He has evidently made a very careful study of the art of writing nonsense, and has learnt how to use the finest and most meaningless of phrases in describing the changes of the weather or the appearance of a country. We should be curious to know how far he is himself aware, if indeed he is at all aware, to what a height of silliness his finest writing rises. No doubt, by carefully confining one's reading to a certain school of modern writers, it would be not impossible altogether to destroy in the mind the power of discriminating between sense and nonsense. Whether Mr. Murray has himself lost that power we cannot tell. We have no doubt, however, that his readers, if they had nothing but his books and books like his to read, would soon bring themselves to that most melancholy of conditions.

He opens his story with a piece of absurdity that ought at once to make his reader part company with him. It is all very well on the signboard of an inn for a pair of grinning heads to announce "We three loggerheads be"; but it is certainly surprising that an author should in his opening chapter invite his reader to make one with him in a partnership of folly. Mr. Murray puts the beginning of his first story into the mouth of an old keg that was found floating on a small and lonely lake by a hunter. He gets it out and sets it by his fire, and it tells him its story. Mr. Murray makes the keg put one little hand up to its chin and rest for a moment so. It fetches a little sigh and complains that one of its hands is gone, "which makes," it says, "a great difference with a keg, I assure you." Presently an old trapper, a very poor imitation of Cooper's backwoodsman, comes in and takes up the story where the keg dropped it. Mr. Murray,

\* *Adirondack Tales*. By W. H. H. Murray, Author of "Adventures in the Wilderness," "The Perfect Horse," &c. London: Richard D. Dickinson. 1878.

*Broad Outlines of Long Years in Australia*. By Mrs. Henry Jones, of Binnun Binnun. London: Tinsley & Co. 1878.



perhaps, gains one advantage by this method of telling a story. He may have a strong affection for his fine writing, and yet at the same time may be troubled with an uncomfortable suspicion that the finer his writing is the more foolish it is sure to be. He may therefore hope to hide from his readers the extreme absurdity of his most darling paragraphs by setting before them something which may prove even more absurd, just as men in Russia hard pressed by wolves have been known to throw out of their sledge one or two of their children in the hope of saving themselves and the rest. But if this is his hope he will find himself disappointed. To make an old keg talk, and to make it talk like a modern novelist, to make it tell how "money glints and glistens in the bright light," is, indeed, very silly; but the old keg is beaten hollow, so far as nonsense goes, by the author himself when he is in his most serious moods. The air—the atmosphere, he generally prefers to call it—he will never leave alone. At one time it seemed blistered, at another it looked as if it were "combustible, and incendiary imps were flinging blazing brands through it." The keg on one occasion, rising to the sublimity of the author, says that "the silence was like an atmosphere." On another occasion the author, not to be surpassed by the keg, tells how "a terrific yell held possession of the atmosphere for a full minute." The yell was repeated; but our language does scant justice to the author's method of composition, and he shall therefore speak for himself:—

Again the terrible scream leaped into the air—this time wild and savagely fierce at the start, and so harsh that it seemed to tear the silence into shreds in very fury; and the last hoarse aspiration of it was so terrible in its wrathful strength that the trees, water, and air seemed to shrink back and shiver in terror at its injection into the peaceful atmosphere.

The whole book is full of such passages as this. There is indeed a story, and there are a certain number of adventures. But we suspect that the story was written to bring in the descriptions rather than that the descriptions were meant to adorn the story. Mr. Murray does, indeed, now and then seem to do his best to keep to his narrative and to leave nature alone. But it is with him a hopeless work. He must be once more at his word-painting, as it is called. He reminds us of the sun in one of his finest passages. "Soon," he writes, "it let loose its energies." He is always letting loose his energies, and the charge which he and his words make upon common sense is scarcely less terrific than the charge that the sun and "its red beams" made when one morning "they marshalled themselves upon the eastern crests, and then charged downward in fiery squadrons." Mr. Murray is, we believe, a citizen of the United States. Had he lived thirty years ago he might have been a great political orator or writer and a dangerous rival of Colonel Pogram. As he is, he makes us think of Jefferson Brick, as that young gentleman might have been after he had tired of worrying the British Lion and had taken to collect pre-Raffaellite pictures and to read Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Buchanan.

Mrs. Henry Jones, in her *Broad Outlines of Long Years in Australia*, aims at doing two things which are not often successfully combined. She wishes to write a story, and at the same time to give "a sketch of real experience during many years of her life in the Bush." Her success in both attempts is but very moderate. We do not think that she would have met with any great success even if she had started with a better plan. Her descriptions are by no means lively, and her imagination is anything but strong. She could neither, therefore, have told her experiences with spirit, nor would she have been capable of forming an interesting plot if she had kept altogether to fiction. Still she would have done far better if she had given in her own name a simple account of her own experiences, omitting of course those details of her life which do not concern outsiders. She has evidently thought, however, that a simple description would not do, but that some kind of love story must be given. She accordingly opens her narrative in an old Elizabethan mansion in England, and provides her heroine with an Australian settler for a lover. She is like the lecturer on chemistry who knows that he cannot hope to attract an audience unless he illustrates, as it is called, his lecture by a series of experiments. She hopes that the lovers will carry her readers through her descriptions of Australian life and her disquisitions on Australian politics. Unfortunately, however, when once she has left the thread of her story she cannot confine herself to the subject she has taken in hand. For instance, she makes her heroine go to her new home round the Cape of Good Hope. Icebergs are met with on the passage, "their icy paralysis" is experienced, and "their stately frigidity" is seen. Icebergs seen twenty years ago by the heroine in the South remind the author of the expedition which was so lately made to the frozen regions in the North. An expedition to the North Pole would seem to have but little to do with life in the Australian bush; still less would the attacks that were made on those that went on this expedition. But Mrs. Jones forgets Australia, to which her heroine is sailing, and thus gallantly comes to the assistance of Captain Nares and his comrades:—

I have smiled to hear it said that our brave explorers in those terrible regions didn't do enough; they should have remained longer, in order, the speaker said, to have discovered where the birds came from that were rarely seen to fly past. How easy it is for those who "sit at home at ease" to discuss and condemn; but the course is open to them to go and do better, and find out birds' nests on the pole if they can, or mares' nests, which would be still more surprising; and if they returned, successfully or not, I will venture to say that few would ever wish to repeat their experience; their curiosity about the birds would be considerably diminished.

Scarcely less connected with Australian life would seem to be the flies of Bristol. But the author's ingenuity is equal to the difficulty. In the streets of Melbourne comfortable wagonettes can be hired; and "these take the place of the dirty London cabs or country flies, of which latter the Bristol variety will carry the palm for general discomfort and extortion." The heroine has a baby, and the baby leads to a disquisition on the comparative advantages of a mother keeping a nurse or bringing up her children herself. "Say what you will," writes Mrs. Jones, "about the delights of bringing up your children, its many advantages, give me a good respectable nurse, and pay her well to listen to all the extra squallings." Now it will be seen that, if a writer on Australia is to be giving her opinion on the expedition to the North Pole, on Bristol flies, and on good respectable nurses, the reader, unless he shares the author's love of wandering from the subject, will be from time to time not a little annoyed. There certainly are not a few people, chiefly ladies, who delight in nothing so much as in a narrative that is ever wandering from the point. It saves them the trouble of continuous thought. To such persons we could with a good deal of confidence recommend Mrs. Jones's narrative. It might indeed make the round of a ladies' book-club in Clifton or in Bath with considerable applause. Like most settlers in a new country, Mrs. Jones thinks it necessary to take a good deal of trouble to show in how many points it is not far from coming up to the old country. In Melbourne there is "a long sculpture gallery, in which will be found copies of most of the celebrated statues of the world." Mrs. Jones mentions six, and then happily brings her list to a close by saying that "it is impossible to name them all." This gallery of copies, she goes on to say, brings one advantage with it which we should scarcely have looked for. "Those who love *Childe Harold* and know it well can here recall his musical cantos, walk with him, in imagination at least, through the classic land, and be surrounded in the heart of this busy commercial city of the South by the silent monuments, 'relics of nobler days and nobler arts.'" It is as hard to understand how the imagination can be carried into the classic land by a collection of copies in a modern gallery as it is to see how these copies are in any sense relics. Besides the sculpture gallery, there is the Town Hall, which "is often thronged with enthusiastic audiences who assemble to welcome, listen to, and almost worship the European stars who are wise enough and bold enough to cross the world's wide expanse, and who cannot but acknowledge that their varied talents, either musical or dramatic, are most rapturously appreciated by the cultivated denizens of this most promising but undeveloped country." When there are such copies of such statues to be seen, such a chance of recalling *Childe Harold*, such stars to be listened to, and such cultivated denizens rapturously to appreciate, it is no wonder that the author, a few lines lower down, begins to pity "the overcrowded denizens of English towns and cities." When once she is fairly clear of Melbourne and in the Bush her narrative gains whatever interest is to be found in it. But her story is at best a melancholy one. The hero borrows large sums of money at fifteen per cent., and gets involved in difficulties. Changes which are made in the land laws complete his ruin, and the story ends with the sale of his estates by his creditors. Into the justice or injustice of these changes it is of course impossible to enter in the criticism of a novel. Little sympathy, however, can be felt for a hero who is rash enough to go on through a long course of years borrowing thousands of pounds at fifteen per cent.

#### GERMAN LITERATURE.

GENERAL VON CLAUSEWITZ\*, although perhaps better known as a writer on tactics than as a commander in the field, occupies nevertheless an honourable place in that group of eminent officers who redeemed Prussia from abasement in the days of Napoleon. "The best of Scharnhorst's pupils," his biographer calls him; and the intimate, and even affectionate, terms on which he lived with that great organizer of victory—as well as with his successor, Gneisenau—are the best testimony to his general worth, as well as to his professional eminence. Apart from his rank as military critic and historian, he is perhaps chiefly interesting as a perfect example of the kind of officer which the Prussian military system tends to produce under the most favourable circumstances in which it admits of being applied. Clausewitz is the type of the highly educated soldier; combining book knowledge with practical efficiency, and general width of culture with purely professional attainments. These aspects of his character are strongly depicted in the two volumes of letters for which we are indebted to Herr Karl Schwarz. Being addressed to a beloved wife, they are free from the curtness and stiffness usually incident to correspondence on military matters; and, being chiefly written at periods of enforced absence on military or political employment, they necessarily include the most important parts of Clausewitz's life. The most interesting are those written during his engagement, when the young man, not as yet placed in positions of high responsibility, had more time and inclination to write—and for this reason, among others, that he was part of the time a captive in France. They

\* *Leben des General Carl von Clausewitz und der Frau Marie von Clausewitz; mit Briefen, Aufsätzen, Tagebüchern und andern Schriftstücken.* Von Karl Schwarz. 2 Bde. Berlin: Dümmler. London: Williams & Norgate.

afford a lively picture of the feelings of a high-minded and patriotic officer under circumstances the most painful and trying. The next section of the correspondence consists of letters from Russia in 1812. Their paucity is to be lamented, for they convey, as far as they go, a most graphic impression of the hardships and horrors of Napoleon's Russian campaign. Clausewitz concluded this episode of his career with a great service to his country in contributing to induce General York to conclude his famous convention with the Russians. His share in this transaction is fully examined by his biographer. The most glorious period of the war for Prussia was now at hand; but, unfortunately for Clausewitz, formal difficulties, connected with his having accepted a commission in the Russian service, led to his being employed under Count Wallmoden in Holstein, where, from no fault of his or his chief's, there was hardly anything to be done. The most important of his letters of this period are addressed, not to his wife, but to General Gneisenau. His correspondence during the Waterloo campaign is less interesting than might have been expected. The next period of his career, as President of the Military Educational Institute at Berlin, witnessed the establishment of his reputation as a military author, but was unfruitful in external incidents, and afforded no opportunity for domestic correspondence. This was resumed when, at the time of the Polish insurrection of 1831, he was nominated to a command on the frontier, which he held until his sudden death in the same year. His letters of this date are highly significant of the feeling in Prussian military circles, not merely towards the insurgent Poles, but towards the Liberal Government of France. Notwithstanding his Russian partialities, he speaks disparagingly of Diebitch, and says that the principal misfortune of the insurrection is that the military weakness of Russia will now be disclosed to France. Such indirect revelations of opinion and feeling constitute the chief historical value of these interesting and agreeable volumes.

Few periods of history are more distracted or difficult to grasp as a whole than the history of Hungary and Transylvania at a period slightly previous to that of the Thirty Years' War. Nor are many more devoid of eminent figures or traits of moral nobleness, or more crowded with "treasons, stratagems, and spoils," with atrocities of every sort and kind, with battle, murder, and sudden death. The two prime elements in this dismal condition of affairs are concisely indicated in the title-page of Professor Schuler von Libloy's\* sketches of that inauspicious period. The miseries of conquest by the Turk may be readily imagined; it was the fault of the Jesuit if the Turk sometimes appeared in the light of a deliverer. It was the era of Catholic reaction, when the Jesuits, having established themselves as the directors of Austrian policy, were steadily recovering the Church's lost ground in the hitherto debateable provinces of the Empire. Their incessant intrigues maintained continual discord in States whose united strength would hardly have availed to resist the Turks, who, on their own part, were entering upon their long decay. A more confused and unsatisfactory state of affairs would be hard to imagine, and it is no impeachment of Professor Schuler's aptitude as an historian if his own pages seem but too faithful a reflection of the general turmoil. He has, however, imparted vivacity to his narrative by frequent quotations from the quaint old chroniclers of these transactions, and some isolated parts of his work are entitled to praise as satisfactory monographs—his sketch of Turkish polity for example.

Viglius van Zwiechem†, a Flemish counsellor of the Emperor Charles V., accompanied his master's successful campaign against the German Protestants in 1546, and recorded the incidents which fell under his notice in a diary, which has long been known, but is now for the first time given to the world. It is a curious medley of jottings on matters great and small, but interesting inasmuch as most of the military transactions recorded fell under the personal observation of the writer. From its brevity and the haste with which it was written it stands greatly in need of editorial care, and the comments and verifications of the indefatigable editor considerably exceed the bulk of the text.

"The Italian Policy of Pope Innocent VI.," ‡ delineated by Dr. Werunsky, had for its principal object the restoration of the Papal authority in the States of the Church, which had been dwindling away for three-quarters of a century. The process of decay had been naturally accelerated by the secession of the Popes to Avignon. While in Rome itself Rienzi endeavoured to restore the forms of the ancient Republic, petty tyrants had established themselves in the principal towns of Romagna, and rendered but a nominal allegiance to the See of Rome. Innocent, a Pope better versed in business than in learning, but of simple habits, practical in his aims, and endowed with considerable political insight, set himself energetically to remedy this state of things. Through the wisdom of his Legate he obtained a semblance of success; but, as Dr. Werunsky points out, the submission of the various cities to

Papal authority was, after all, more apparent than real. His proceedings were connected with the nearly contemporaneous expedition of Charles IV., the scope of which is also discussed by Dr. Werunsky, and shown to have been very limited in comparison with previous enterprises of the same nature.

Herr Ernst Faber\* has made another useful contribution to Chinese studies by his translation and exposition of the works of the ancient Chinese philosopher Li or Licius. Licius flourished in the latter half of the fifth century B.C., or about a hundred years after Confucius. His writings seem to indicate a protest against the purely secular wisdom of the latter sage, and to represent those more religious and imaginative elements of the national thought which afterwards led to the diffusion of Buddhism. His theory of the universe appears substantially Pantheistic, and offers considerable affinity to the Indian in its practical conclusions, though resting rather on an empirical than a metaphysical basis. Licius would also seem to have been considerably influenced by Lao Tse; the existence and efficacy of magic, at all events, appear to be taken for granted by him. On the whole, his writings may probably be taken as a fair example of the Chinese mind alike in its strength and weakness. Childish absurdity, as at least it appears to us, alternates with shrewd homely sagacity; and in their independence of foreign influence they afford an interesting proof of the tendency of the awakened intellect in all ages and countries to occupy itself with the same problems, with a remarkable correspondence in the results ultimately attained. His aphorisms are for the most part cast into the form of apologies or anecdotes, some quaint and ingenious, others at the first aspect puerile or extravagant. Much that is apparently enigmatical or absurd resolves itself into good sense under the influence of Herr Faber's brief and assuredly indispensable commentary. Licius is full of interesting incidental illustrations of Chinese manners and customs, indicating the progress which civilization had made in his time. Medicine, architecture, and music seem to have attained a considerable degree of development—the latter especially was almost as highly regarded as in contemporary Greece. In Herr Faber's opinion true intellectual progress has been arrested in China since Licius's time, and the nation has even retrograded in several respects.

Dr. Deussen† is in essentials a disciple of Schopenhauer, but aims at completing and improving his master's work. His most distinguishing characteristic is his assertion of the fundamental unity of Indian and Hebrew religious thought—a proposition which would have been angrily disputed by Schopenhauer, who could see nothing in Semitic modes of thought but shallow and selfish optimism. Dr. Deussen shows ingenuity in maintaining his thesis, and many of his applications of metaphysical data to æsthetical criticism are worthy of attention. One interesting feature of his work is his familiarity with Sanskrit, somewhat alarmingly displayed by the frequency of his citations in that language. One of Schopenhauer's favourite theses is unquestionably justified by the present revival of Kant, who is almost as exclusively the *fons et origo* of contemporary philosophical speculation as Hegel was thirty years ago. Dr. Biedermann‡ applies his principles to the construction of a system of ideology, the first part of which deals with metaphysics and logic, and the second with natural science. Dr. Cohen§ comments on his ethical theory, upon which Dr. Kaulich's|| system of ethics also is principally based.

A compact and judicious memoir of Friedrich List, by F. Goldschmidt¶, affords an adequate idea of the character and services of a remarkable man, who, if not the greatest of German political economists, was at least the most interesting among the pioneers of political economy in Germany. List's career was eventful and ultimately tragical. Entering the Wurtemberg Parliament at the period of anti-Liberal reaction which ensued upon the fall of Napoleon, the independence of his strictures on the dominant bureaucracy led to his expulsion, imprisonment, and ultimate banishment to America. He returned after some years, but ill fortune seemed to pursue his enterprises, both public and private, and a life of incessant struggle and perpetual disappointment was ultimately terminated by suicide (1846). As an economist List's fame rests upon his great conception of the Zollverein—the honour of which, however, is shared by the Baden Minister of State, Nebenius—and his vigorous promotion of railways on their first introduction into Germany. He is even better, though perhaps less favourably known for his zealous championship of the protective system, not as abstractedly sound, but as a temporary necessity for a State whose manufactures are in a backward condition. This economical heresy has rendered him popular in the United States. It is supported by his able biographer, whose memoir may almost be regarded as a plea for a return to a more

\* *Aus der Türken- und Jesuitenzeit vor und nach dem Jahre 1600. Historische Darstellungen zumal Fürsten- und Volksgeschichte in den Karpathenländern.* Von F. Schuler von Libloy. Berlin: Grieben. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Des Viglius van Zwiechem Tagebuch des Schmalkaldischen Donaukriegs.* Nach dem Autograph des Brüsseler Staatsarchivs herausgegeben und erläutert von August von Drußel. München: Kieger. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Italianische Politik. Papst Innocent VI. und König Karl IV. in den Jahren 1353—1354.* Von Dr. Emil Werunsky. Wien: Braumüller. London: Williams & Norgate.

\* *Der Naturalismus bei den alten Chinesen, oder die sammtlichen Werke des Philosophen Licius.* Zum ersten Male vollständig übersetzt und erklärt von E. Faber. Eiberfeld: Friderichs. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Die Elemente der Metaphysik.* Von Dr. Paul Deussen. Aachen: Mayer. London: Nutt.

‡ *Philosophie als Begriffswissenschaft.* Von Dr. G. Biedermann. 2 The. Prag: Tempsky. London: Nutt.

§ *Kants Begründung der Ethik.* Von Dr. H. Cohen. Berlin: Dümmler. London: Nutt.

|| *System der Ethik.* Von Dr. W. Kaulich. Prag: Tempsky. London: Nutt.

¶ *Friedrich List: Deutschlands grosser Volkswirth.* Von Friedrich Goldschmidt. Berlin: Springer. London: Nutt.



stringent system of Protection. Herr Goldschmidt is quite convinced that such a reaction would be eminently conducive to the interests of German manufacturers, but he throws no light on the more difficult question how far it would prove compatible with those of their customers.

It is easy and natural to overrate the philological value of Coptic as a clue to the meaning of ancient Egyptian. Dr. Abel's essay on Egyptian etymology \* is calculated to repress undue expectations on this point. It is impossible, he says, to produce the Coptic representatives of most hieroglyphic words, on account of the fluctuating character of the language at both periods of its history.

The artistic miscellanies of H. Riegel †, if somewhat slight and discursive, afford nevertheless abundance of agreeable reading, principally interesting to the student of German art. An essay on the characteristics of French painting hardly constitutes an exception to this observation, inasmuch as Herr Riegel principally considers the art of France from the point of view of its influence on the art of Germany. In deprecating excessive deference to French examples, he perhaps overlooks the real secret of the propagation of French taste; which is that, with all its defects, French art is at all events instinct with vitality, while German art, except in the department of book illustration, is apt to be academical and conventional. In the last century the reverse was the case; and the history of French painting is a very remarkable instance of the efficacy of a stirring national life and a vigorous self-consciousness in developing the artistic sentiment among a people originally but sparingly gifted with feeling for natural scenery or the perception of beauty in the human form. The most important of Herr Riegel's other disquisitions are biographical in form, including orations on the architect Schinkel and the painter Genelli, additions to the biography of Carstens, and an especially full memoir of Julius Thäter, an engraver to whose lot it fell to reproduce many of the masterpieces of modern German art. A notice of Schnorr von Carolsfeld treats principally of his relations with Cornelius, and contains copious specimens of his correspondence with the latter.

The last published volume of Paul Heyse's series of novelettes ‡ may perhaps be deemed to betray some falling off in the power of commanding admiration by polish of style and perfection of artistic construction, and some disposition to resort to eccentricity and melodrama in their stead. The most remarkable stories in the collection are undoubtedly powerful and interesting, but not one of them can be pronounced wholly satisfactory as a work of art. The opening of "Jorinde" is highly promising, and the picture of the beautiful maiden in the weird old house most striking; but the catastrophe is too shocking. Still more gratuitously painful is the "Empress of Spinetta," a tale of misery wholly undeserved, and hence revolting to the moral instincts, unless from a point of view at which neither the author nor his readers can be supposed to place themselves. There is unquestionably much wild power in the description of Maino's sacrilegious conduct at his marriage; and a similar force of invention may be recognized in the supernatural passages of "The Mermaid," though marred by the same uncertainty whether they are to be understood as actual occurrences or the wanderings of a disordered imagination. "Faithful unto Death" is pleasing, but slight. "The Lady Marchesa" appeared very recently in the *Rundschau*.

The contribution to the *Rundschau* § most likely to attract general attention is a number of letters by Marshal von Moltke, written during his visit to Paris in December 1856 as adjutant to the Prince of Prussia, now Emperor of Germany. Like the Marshal's other published letters, these have already appeared in a Danish newspaper. The celebrity of the writer, and the piquant contrast with his later and more memorable visit to the French metropolis, will ensure them an attention hardly merited by their intrinsic interest. The most remarkable passage is a portrait of Napoleon III. as a quiet, unimposing, unassuming, good-natured man, with none of his uncle's dignity, but also none of his theatrical trickery. The most remarkable of the other papers is a criticism by Paul Heyse on the Italian poet Leopardi in his character of pessimist. Heyse endeavours to establish that Leopardi's mental attitude, forlorn as it was, practically implied a recognition of the value of life. An essay on German Socialism, though written from a hostile point of view, admits that the Socialists set other German political parties a good example in their exemption from local preferences and jealousies. Out of 397 members of the Reichstag, it is stated, only fifteen are elected by districts with which they have no local connexion, and eight of these fifteen are Socialists, the total number of Socialist representatives being only twelve.

*North and South* || has several miscellaneous contributions of considerable interest. Among them may be named an analysis of Louis XVIII.'s narrative of his flight from Paris in 1790, a reminiscence of Egyptian travel by Georg Ebers, and an interest-

ing criticism by Lucian Müller on Porphyrius, a Latin poet of the period of Constantius, who, had he lived in ours, would have earned high repute in the department of double acrostics. The chief curiosity, however, is a recently recovered prose essay by the dramatist Kleist, on the art of extemporaneous discourse. It is distinguished by all the characteristics of that great and unhappy genius.

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‡ *Neue moralische Novellen.* Von Paul Heyse. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Deutsche Rundschau.* Herausgegeben von Julius Rodenberg. Jahrg. 4. Hft. 5. Berlin: Paetel. London: Tribner.

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